

1790.2.47
MEMOIRS

Of the Famous

Bashaw BONNEVAL.

Containing, An

A C C O U N T

O F

The late WAR in ITALY.

LIKEWISE

**The secret Intrigues of FRANCE, SPAIN,
SAVOY, &c.**

**Intermix'd with a great Variety of genuine Adventures
in Love and Gallantry of the principal Persons concern'd.**

A L S O

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Never before Printed.**

**Translated from the Original FRENCH Manuscript
of Count BONNEVAL, by a Gentleman.**

Dedicated to his Grace the Duke of MARLBOROUGH.

**The SECOND EDITION, Corrected:
With a new MAP of ITALY.**

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M.DCC.XXXVI.

MEMOIRS

Of the

BALDWIN BONNEVAL

A COURT



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INTERESTED WITH A GREAT VARIETY OF

IN LOVE AND GENTLENESS OF THE

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To His Grace the Duke of
MARLBOROUGH,

May it please your Grace,

 Although the following Translation cannot plead the Merit of a Place in your Grace's curious Library, it affords me the Opportunity of making a Publick Acknowledgement of the Favours bestowed upon our Family by your Illustrious Predecessors. An Acknowledgement so just, that I should think my self guilty of the greatest Ingratitude to omit it upon this Occasion.

It would be no less a Piece of Flattery, than a needless Repetition, to

DEDICATION.

mention the Renown your Ancestors have obtained both in the Field and Senate, which are so faithfully recorded in History.

Permit me to congratulate your Grace upon the high Title you now inherit, which was conferred upon your Grandfather as the just Reward of his heroic Actions, and will still remain an everlasting Monument of his Glory.

That your Grace may share his Virtues, and by your own Actions and those of a Numerous Offspring transmit such Glorious Examples to Posterity, are the most sincere and ardent Wishes of your Grace's

Most obedient and most

Dedicated humble Servant,



J. SPARROW.

P R E F A C E,



THE Author's Account of himself in the Beginning of these Memoirs, renders it needless to give the Particulars of his Family and Descent, or of the Motives which induced him to leave his Native Country, and

retire into Italy.

It is very certain, that the Post he enjoyed in the Service of the Duke of Savoy, and the Confidence that Prince placed in him upon all Occasions, gave him a favourable Opportunity of being acquainted with his most secret Transactions. He was often employed by his Royal Highness in Negotiations of Importance, which he generally executed to his Satisfaction, and his Courage as well as Experience in the Art of War (which he owns to be his chief Delight) was no less conspicuous whensoever it was required.

Though he quitted the Service of the Duke of Savoy, after his Royal Highness, in Compliance with the French Generals, had suffered him to be put under a military Arrest, he was in such Esteem with that Prince, that he solicited his Return. But to avoid being a second time exposed to the Spleen and Resentment of those Generals and in Gratitude to Prince Eugene, who had delivered him from the Hands of his Enemies,

The PREFACE.

mies, he refused all his Offers, and continued in the Service of the Emperor under that General.

Prince Eugene was so fully convinced of his Fidelity and Capacity, that he dispatched him to the Court of Vienna, and recommended him to his Imperial Majesty, who allowed him a Pension. He was employed in many secret Expeditions, especially in that against Cremona, when the Marshal de Villeroy was taken Prisoner, and successfully negotiated some Affairs of Importance for the Emperor at Rome, till he returned to the Army at his own Request, as appears by his Letter from Rome to Prince Eugene of Savoy.

The War in Italy being ended, he remained in the Service of his Imperial Majesty, till, by some Disgust taken at the Ministers of that Court, he went into Turkey, and entered into the Service of the Grand Seignior, where he has continued to this time, and is at present at the Head of ten thousand Men in that Country.



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ITALY
divided
into
ITS PRINCIPAL
STATES





BRITISH MUSEUM



MEMOIRS OF COUNT BONNEVAL.

PART I.

CONSIDERING the Number *An. 1688.*
and Ability of those concerned in
writing, I am surpris'd that no body
has yet undertaken to furnish us
with an exact and faithful Relation
of the last War in *Italy*. This War suffi-
ciently abounded with extraordinary Incidents,
to excite the Curiosity of those who admire
such kind of Reading; and I flatter my self,
that these *Memoirs*, which contain the most
remarkable Transactions in that Country, will
be agreeably received by the Publick. I speak
only of what I was witness to, or of what I have
been so well informed, that I have no reason to
fear the Accusation of having imposed upon my
B Reader.



An. 1688. Reader. With respect to those Adventures in *Gallantry* interspersed in this Work, I declare they are not the Product of my own Imagination, but faithfully related as they happened; and I hope the plain and easy Manner in which they are described, is sufficient to convince the World, that my Design is not to write a *Romance*.

Before I enter into the Particulars of what passed in *Italy*, during my stay in that Country, I think it will not be improper to acquaint you with the Reasons which obliged me to retire into it. I am of the *French Nation*, and although not descended from one of those illustrious Family's, eminent either in the *Army* or at *Court*, am a Gentleman of Fortune sufficient to make some figure in the World. My principal Employ was always in the *Army*, where I first learnt the Art of War in the *Infantry*, and then entered into a *Corps of Dragoons*, which I never quitted during the whole time of my Service.

I was *Cornet* and *Lieutenant* in *France*, and at twenty two Years of Age, had a Company of Dragoons, in the Service of His Royal Highness of *Savoy*, late King of *Sardinia*, which Commission I obtained by the Interest of a Relation, who was in esteem at the Court of that Prince, and was one of those who negotiated the Marriage of his Royal Highness with the Daughter of *Monsieur*, and conducted her to *Turin*.

I remained in this Service, till I was recalled by the same Relation into *France* to take the Post of Lieutenant Colonel of a Regiment of Dragoons. This Regiment was raised in the Year 1688, at which time there was a Design of declaring War against the Emperor; for the Dauphin



Dauphin soon after besieged *Philipsbourg*, which *An. 1689* first opened that War. Our Regiment was too lately raised to act in that Campaign; but being in good Condition the succeeding Year, we made our first Campaign in *Germany*, where we met with considerable Disadvantages, the Duke of *Lorraine* taking from us *Mayence*, and the Elector of *Brandenbourg Bonn*, which occasioned the Disgrace of Mr. *de Duras*.

The Campaign being ended, we were sent into Winter Quarters at *Bezançon*. This City being the Capital of *Franche Comté*, it is easily imagined, that neither People nor Persons of Distinction are wanting in it; and altho' the antient Inhabitants of the Town, who have lived under the *Spanish* Government, still retain an aversion to the *French*, the modern have all *French* Hearts, and particularly the *Ladies*. As there is always a good Garrison in the Place, and the Nation naturally Gallant, few Women have escaped having some Officer for a Lover, which without doubt has not a little contributed towards obtaining their good wishes.

As I naturally loved Gallantry, and the Conversation of the *Ladies*, I had not been long in the Garrison, without visiting all those I could in good Manners approach, my Character gaining me free admission; but among others I was acquainted with, none pleased me more than *Mademoiselle de Bure*; she was about twenty two Years of Age, admirably well shaped, of an excellent Complexion, and the Charms of her Beauty in general suddenly captivated all who saw her, and what was a farther Addition, she sung and danced to perfection. I visited her alone for the space of a Month; but at length having the Imprudence to introduce

An. 1689. the Colonel of the Regiment, he became immediately in love with her, which raised a Jealousy in him against me. The young Lady, for her own part, liked neither of us, as far at least as I could perceive, she neither repulsed nor encouraged us, but left us in suspense between hope and fear; but, abstractedly from Love, there are always some People for whom we feel a greater *Sympathy* than others, and *Mademoiselle de Bure* seemed to express more Satisfaction in my Company than the Colonel's, to which perhaps my Youth (more prevailing than Merit among the Ladies) did not a little contribute. This Distinction raised a Belief in him that I was beloved by her, and vastly increased his Jealousy. He endeavoured as much as possible however to conceal it; but at length being treated with some Coldness by him, while I justly defended the Interest of the Captains of the Regiment, he took a mortal Aversion to me, and made it no longer a Secret. This Hatred was soon made publick; he used some harsh Expressions to me, at which I was offended, and resolved to have Satisfaction. A favourable Opportunity offered the next Morning; while the Regiment was mounted to Exercise, I spoke privately to him, and declared my Resentment. He seemed ravished at the Proposal, and told me he had long desired to fight me in favour of *Mademoiselle de Bure*. We retired behind a Hedge at some distance from the Regiment, and immediately took Pistol in hand; he fired first, and broke the Pommel of my Saddle, but receiving no Injury my self, I fired and killed him upon the spot.

After

After such an Action, considering the severity of the Laws against Duels, I could not possibly stay in the Kingdom, therefore I rode off immediately; and having acquainted some Officers, who were my particular Friends, with the Accident, they sent my Baggage to *Salins*, from whence I departed the Kingdom by *Geneva* and retired to *Turin*. An. 1689.

I chose this Country for my Retreat, having formerly contracted a considerable number of Acquaintance in it, while I served in quality of Captain of Dragoons, and entertained some hopes, that thro' the Interest of my Friends at the Court of the Duke of *Savoy*, he would intercede for my Pardon; but the War which was kindled between *France* and that State about the same time broke all my Measures, and I was constrained to stay at *Turin* while all *Europe* was in Arms, being incapable of serving in *France* after what had happened, and unwilling to espouse the Cause of the Enemies of my King and Country: This was no small grief to me; but such is the Method I conceiv'd ought to be taken between Honour and Duty in so nice a Circumstance.

As I had no occasion to serve in the Army for Subsistence, or to make a considerable figure at Court, the greatest part of my Income being regularly remitted by my Relations; and as I was a *Frenchman*, I thought it improper to accept of such Employs, as his Highness had the Goodness to offer me, but chose rather to serve as a Volunteer, or as one of his Aides de Camp at my own Expence, whensoever a favourable Opportunity should offer, or in any Action where Honour might be acquired, always reserving to my self the liberty of leaving the Army when

An. 1689. I pleased. This Proposal being made to his Highness by some of my Friends, he readily consented to it, and was always so fully convinced of my Fidelity to him, that he has often expressed his satisfaction at my Conduct.

This is the Scheme which I first formed, and constantly observed during the Course of the War; and I am apt to believe, I could not have contrived a Method of serving with more pleasure and honour, since I had an opportunity of being present upon the most extraordinary Occasions, and of enjoying the best Company in the Army and the City at the same time. But it's now proper to shew the Reasons which obliged the Duke of *Savoy* to embrace the Interest of the Allies, and the steps he took to break with *France*.

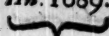
The Duke of *Savoy* had long been in the power of *France*, and surrounded on all Sides by Places in the possession of that Crown. He perceived *Casal*, *Monaco*, *Pignerol*, and several other Fortresses, full of strong Garrisons ready to invade *Piedmont*, and that *Savoy* was entirely open on the side of *Dauphiné*. But as he was not in a Condition to retake places of that strength, and durst not complain, he readily consented to what he could not refuse, till he saw all *Europe* in Arms against *France*, and that he had Powers sufficient to protect him against the Invasions of that Crown.

The Places which the *French* King was possessed of in *Italy*, not being sufficient for the Maintenance of his Garrisons, or, to speak truth, the King suspecting that his Royal Highness had entered into a League with his Enemies, took umbrage at his Conduct, and desired quarters for his Troops in the Duke's Dominions,

ons, and ordered his Forces to march in the mean time, and possess themselves of several open Cities, quartered his Cavalry in the Country, before they had Quarters assigned them, and at length demanded the raising six Regiments in the Duke's Territories, to which he was obliged to consent. *An. 1689.*

These Proceedings so sensibly affected his Royal Highness, that he immediately resolved to enter into a League with the Enemies of *France*. The only Difficulty was to conclude it without the Knowledge of that Crown, by reason of the Intrigues they have in all Courts. Therefore the Duke, dissident of his own Ministers, resolved to retire to *Venice*, under pretence of seeing the Diversions of the Carnival, and was met at that place by the Duke of *Bavaria*: There the first Alliance was concluded between the Emperor, that Elector, and his Royal Highness; by which his Imperial Majesty granted him the Title of Royal Highness, which he had till then refused, with the Rank to his Ambassadors immediately after those of crowned Heads, reinstated him in all the Dignities of *Vicar* of the Holy Empire, and promised to assist him with Troops, and several other Advantages, upon condition that he would immediately declare against *France*. *Spain*, *England* and *Holland* entered afterward into this Treaty, and engaged themselves by several Articles to assist him with Troops and Money, whensoever he should be attacked by the *French*.

The Court of *France* had some suspicion of what was negotiating at *Venice*, as soon as his Royal Highness departed from *Turin* for that Place, and therefore ordered their Ambassador who resided there, to be diligent in the disco-

An. 1689.  very of that Treaty, and for better Information sent Marschal *Catinat* disguised in the habit of a Capuchin, who discovered that some Articles had passed inconsistent with the Interest of the King his Master, and returned instantly to give that Court advice of it. His Highness returned likewise to *Turin* as soon as the Carnival was ended.

After his return into his own Dominions, his principal care was to conceal his Designs from Mr. *de Rebenac* the French Ambassador, and others of that Nation, not suspecting they were in the least acquainted with what had passed at *Venice*, and gave private Orders to keep his Troops in readiness, and furnished his Magazines with Provisions and warlike Stores, which the *Spaniards* had long before done in the *Milaneze*.

The King having certain Advice from other Parts of what was contriving against him in *Piemont*, resolv'd to be beforehand with his Enemies, and to take possession of some Towns in that State, demanding *Ivrée*, *Saleuce*, *Fossan*, *Savillan*, and some other Places of the Duke to garrison his Troops. This being granted, he farther desired the principal Forts of the Country and the Citadel of *Turin* as Guaranty of his Royal Highness's Fidelity, which he said, he had reason to suspect. Upon this he wrote to the King with his own Hand, making a thousand protestations of his Integrity, and earnestly requested that he would not deprive him of that Place where he kept his Court; that provided he left him that mark of Sovereignty, he would with pleasure put the other Places he required into his hands, but

but this was only to gain time, he had no de- *An. 1690.*
sign to trust them in his Possession.

The King was not affected with this Letter, although it was very submissive; he had been informed of the Duke's Preparations and Designs, and therefore persisted in his Resolution of having the Places, he had mentioned, delivered to him. His Highness however gained time by this Negotiation: but being at length so strongly pressed, he haughtily declared against the King of *France* in favour of the Allies, and ordered the Troops of that Monarch to depart his Country, in default whereof his Subjects were to treat them as Enemies. The *French* were not yet numerous enough to maintain themselves in the flat Country, which obliged Mareschal *Catinat* to withdraw his Forces, contrary to his Inclination. This Order was given in the Month of *June* 1690, by virtue of which the whole Country was delivered from the *French*, who retired under the Cannon of *Pignerol*.

There was no longer room for disguise after this, neither was it observed at the Court of *Turin*, even the *French* Minister upon complaining of this Conduct, received no other answer, than an express order not to stir out of his House, till the Minister of *Savoy* was permitted to depart the Kingdom of *France*, pursuant to the Orders he had received from his Master. From this time an entire Rupture and open War was declared between the two States. His Royal Highness first began to justify his Conduct by a Manifesto, which was soon succeeded by one in the behalf of his most Christian Majesty, which it is unnecessary to relate in this Place.

Turin

An. 1690. *Turin* had for a long time rather resembled a Town of *France* than *Italy*, not only from the *Resemblance* of the Language, but more especially from the number of Officers who daily frequented it, on account of the *Vicinity* of the Troops; and it was with the utmost regret to the Inhabitants that they retired. As to my own part, I was sensibly afflicted, having by this means lost the opportunity of seeing my Friends: But their leaving the Town, was by none so much regretted, as by the Ladies.

The Court of *Turin* and the Ladies of that City in general are esteemed very Gallant, for which reason there were few Officers without a Mistress, who constantly frequented it. I could relate a thousand Adventures that happened last Winter, to most of which I was witness; but shall confine myself to one particular Intrigue, between the Chevalier *Gastin* and the Countess de **** of which I was the first Promoter and Confident, by introducing him to that Lady's Acquaintance.

As I generally resided at *Turin* after my Arrival in *Piemont*, I frequented the Court, and visited the Ladies of the first Rank in the City; and having renewed my former Acquaintance, the Officers of the *French Army* who were at that time in *Piemont*, with whom I had any Intimacy, visited me, and begged the favour of me to introduce them to the Assemblies, and to those Families where I was acquainted. This I undertook with pleasure, and the more easily to engage their return to *Turin*, I procured each of them a Mistress, and then left them to act according to their Discretion. But this was undertaken upon condition of having the most secret Intrigues of their Amours

Amour communicated to me, which they *An. 1690.* always regularly observed, and I have by this means discovered, that few Women are proof against the Addresses of a genteel Gallant, since to my Knowledge some have submitted, whose Virtue till that time I thought impregnable. To prove what I advance, it will be sufficient to relate the History I promised, which happened during the short stay I made with the *French* at *Turin*.

The Chevalier *Gastin*, who was one of my most intimate Friends in the *French* Troops, came often to visit me; and having desired me to procure him the Friendship of some Lady, I thought I could not introduce him to a more honourable Acquaintance or a Person of greater Merit than the Countess de ****.

Her extraordinary Good-breeding made her a person of easy access; but I conceived it difficult, for one who had only the title of Major, to gain her esteem. She is rich, descended from one of the principal Families in *Piemont*, and her Husband a person of considerable Employments at Court. But the greatest difficulty appeared from her Character of being a Lady of exemplary Piety and Virtue. Her Beauty had created a thousand Adorers, and daily attracted more, who in general had all miscarried. His Royal Highness himself was one of that Number, and tho' a Sovereign had met with the same fate. All these Difficulties did not in the least discourage the Chevalier *Gastin*, he was captivated with her Beauty the very first Visit, and resolved to prosecute the Intrigue. Thus he was insensibly engaged, and from the Acquaintance I had with her Husband, I procured him the means of visiting her
in

An. 1690. in private, and was pleased in having the Opportunity of being satisfied, whether it was possible for any one to prevail upon that Lady's Virtue, who passed for the *Lucretia* of the Court. I soon had the pleasure of being informed, that the Chevalier had not sighed above a Month in vain. She declared to him that she was not insensible of the Testimonies of his Love, and that she was obliged to return it, notwithstanding the struggles she had with her self to the contrary. She refused him at first, as she had done others, and forbad him to speak of his Passion; but this did not make him retreat, and he had so often mentioned his Love, that at length she heard the Language with pleasure, without reflecting upon the Consequence, or the Duty she owed to her Husband. The Chevalier was so graceful in his Person, and a Gentleman so well accomplished that he wounded the Heart of the Countess, upon which the Sovereign himself could make no Impression; so true it is that Love is not so much guided by Reason as by natural Inclination. He acquainted me with all that happened, according to his Promise, and discharged the Secrets of his Heart to me as his most intimate Confident. This Intrigue was carried on with such secrecy, as to be unsuspected by every one but her Husband; the Reasons of whose Jealousy were these.

The Chevalier *Gastin* and my self went every night to Court, where we generally met the Count; as soon as the Chevalier saw him enter, he retired to his Mistress, and left me to amuse the Husband in his absence. This had so often happened, that the Count at length took notice of it, and addressing himself to me one Evening,

Evening, asked with some uneasiness why the Chevalier did not stay as he was used? which *An. 1690.* Curiosity gave me room to believe that he suspected the Affair; for he knew, before, that *Gastin* often visited at his House, whether he was absent or not. I took little notice of the question he had asked me, but to be farther satisfied he returned home, and as he offered to enter at a Back-door, of which he had the Key, he met the Chevalier coming out the same way. It is easy to judge what surprise *Gastin* was in at so unexpected an Accident; he put himself in a posture of defence, thinking the Count would attack him: But the Husband who was prepared for the discovery laugh'd at his surprise, and to prevent his Servants who followed him from suspecting the Intrigue, he asked the Chevalier whether he had acquainted his Lady with what he had desired him, and what Answer she had returned? *Gastin* who readily understood the Count, instantly replied to the question, and then parted from him, happy to escape at so easy a rate. The Count was so prudent as to wink at the Intrigue, and the Lovers acted for the future with more precaution, yet carried on the Amour till the *French* left *Piemont*. Several Letters passed between them, but the Correspondence gradually decay'd, as it generally happens by too long an Absence.

At that time, I had the honour of being particularly acquainted with the Countess *de Verrue*, who was then unmarried: And tho' at my return, I found her contracted to the Count *de Verrue*, I was so high in her esteem, that she made me her Confident in most of her Affairs, and particularly in the Passion of his Royal Highness
for

An. 1690. for her, and that she entertained for him. However she concealed the favours from me that she so liberally bestowed upon the Duke; but it was easy to apprehend from her Discourse, that he had succeeded in his Addresses, and that the Title of Sovereign Prince is an infallible merit with the Ladies. I would not be understood to say, that his Highness has no other recommendation, he has as many agreeable Talents, both with respect to his Person and Understanding, as any Man in the World. This Intrigue was publickly known, and at length came to the ears of her Husband, who had long doubted the Truth of it, and had avoided as much as possible to be satisfied in the Affair. What gave him the greatest uneasiness, was, that he himself had been the Occasion of this Amour between his Royal Highness and the Countess, by boasting of her extraordinary Beauty, and introducing her himself to the Prince, to support what he had advanced. Whether the Count perceived the Prince's Love for his Lady or not, he endeavoured to remove her from Court to his Country Seat; but his Highness detained him day after day upon some plausible pretences, till he was thoroughly convinced of the Passion they entertained for each other. The Affair being come to that height, that, in imitation of *Madam de Montespan*, she refused the Count those Favours she liberally bestowed upon the Prince, he thought himself obliged in honour to leave *Piemon*t and retire into the *French* Service, that he might have an Opportunity of being revenged on the Duke, who was the cause of his Lady's Infidelity.

The

The King of *France* gave him a Regiment of Dragoons, which was equivalent to the Post he had quitted in the Service of his Royal Highness, and was as much in esteem at the Court of *France*, as in that of *Piemont*. The Beauty of his Person made him particularly admired by the Ladies; but as he had declared himself an Enemy to the Sex upon his Wife's inconstancy, he refused to answer the advances made to him by the Ladies of the *French* Court. At length, having received some extraordinary Civilities and singular Services from the Mareschalle de **** for which he thought himself obliged to make some return, he surrendered himself to her Charms. D—— who had been her Gallant a long time, perceiving the change she had made, boasted of the Favours he had received from the Mareschalle, which reached the Ears of her Husband. She was so enraged at this, that she resolved to be revenged at all Events, and caused him to be attacked in the Street by four Men in Masks, who disarmed him and gave him two or three slight Wounds: D—— could make no discovery of the Author of this Villany upon the strictest inquiry; but did not in the least doubt it to be his Mistress, which was the general Opinion of those who heard of the Adventure. The Count de *Ferrue* continued this Intrigue with the Mareschal the whole Winter, and then repaired to *Flanders*, where his Regiment has served during the greatest part of the War.

After the Declaration of War against *France* by the Duke of *Savoy*, Mareschal *Catinot*, the *French* General, finding his Forces insufficient to maintain him in the Quarters he had

An. 1690. had in *Piemont*, retired under the Cannon of *Pignerol*, till the Reinforcements he expected were arrived. He was encamped under that Place with no less than 12 or 15000 Men, which were soon reinforced by a good number of Cavalry and Infantry.

Nevertheless the Marquis *de Fuenfollida*, Governor of the *Milaneze*, ordered the greatest part of 9000 Foot and 3000 Horse to march to the assistance of the Duke of *Savoy*, pursuant to the Treaty. After these Troops, under the Command of the Marquis *de Louvigni*, had joined those of the Duke, they passed the *Po*, with a design to attack the *French* before their Reinforcements could arrive. Mareschal *Catinat* was too well experienced to hazard a Battle with unequal Forces, and took all possible Measures to prevent it; he therefore thought proper to repossess himself of *Carignan*, which he had lately abandoned, and where his Royal Highness had placed a Garrison. This Post was not only advantageous to him for a Vanguard, but secured the whole Country to him from thence to *Pignerol*, by which Means he had always free forage for his Horse. The Duke who had advice of his Design, and knew the Importance of the Place, reinforced it with four Squadrons and three Battalions under the command of the Marquis *de Pianezze*. The Marquis had scarce entered the Town and posted his Men, but he perceived the Vanguard of the *French*, who were forcing a Detachment, which guarded a Bridge they were to pass. His Highness, who foresaw what would happen, had ordered a reinforcement of two Battalions to advance, and followed with the rest of the Army himself,

self, designing to offer them battle, if they *An. 1690* persisted in the Resolution of taking that Place: But the *French* perceiving, that the whole Army would fall upon them; retreated in good order to their former Post, with the Loss of Mr. *de Sernon* an excellent Officer, and a few Soldiers.

The Duke would have advanced to attack the Enemy the next day; but was dissuaded from it, by the Marquis *de Louvigni*, who found their Camp too advantageously situated.

The *Vaudois*, who had been lately recalled by the Prince, incommoded the *French* very much, and frequently took considerable Convoys. Mr. *de Catinat*, to prevent their Excursions; and to confine them to the Mountains, had taken their principal Posts, and among others the City of *Lucerne*; where he had put some Regiments of Infantry and Squadrons of Dragoons, beside 400 Men into Fort *St. Michael*, which is not far distant.

A Resolution was taken in the Duke's Army, to drive the *French* from that Post, and to deliver the *Vaudois* from so dangerous a Neighbour. Mr. *de Loche*, Colonel of the Religionary Regiment in the *English* Service, which was just arriv'd, was detached upon that Expedition, with the Troop under his Command, who made so vigorous an attack against the Fort, while the Minister *Arnaud*, who commanded the *Vaudois*, took them upon the Flank, that he carried the Fort in less than half an hour. The *French* however renewed the Charge, and beat off the *Vaudois*; but being succour'd in time, they took possession

An. 1690. session of it again, without any great difficulty. The *French*, having lost Fort St. *Michael*, abandoned *Lucerne* precipitately, not thinking it proper to wait, till it was attack'd. After they had possessed themselves of that Place, the *Vaudois*, joined by other Troops, pursued them, and came up with them at *Brigueras*, where the Enemy maintained their Ground. They attack'd the Borough and the Castle, where abundance of *French* Officers remained; the rest retired in indifferent order, by which means, the *Vaudois* became entire Masters of their Valleys. Tho' the *Vaudois* had gained some Advantages in the Mountains, the Army of *Savoy* was not so successful in the Plain. Mr. *de Catinat*, having receiv'd the Succours, he expected from *France*, immediately took possession of *Cahors*, and from thence advanc'd to *Sáleuce*, to make himself Master of that open Place, and of the whole *Marquisat*, that bears the name, to which the *French* always pretended a Right. The Duke, having Advice of it, marched with his Army to cover the *Marquisat*.

The two Armies having met, on the 18th of *August*, 1690, and being drawn up in order of Battle, Mr. *de Catinat* began the Attack, about eleven o' Clock in the Morning. Our Left Wing, which consisted altogether of *Spaniards*, did not defend themselves so well as was expected, and the Cavalry having abandoned the Infantry, which had discharged before the Enemy, was within Shot; the *French* easily overthrew them, and immediately routed the Left Wing. The Right Wing, composed of the *Piemontese*, stood firm at the Beginning, but being at length overpowered.

powered by Numbers, was entirely broke, *An. 1690.*
 and the *French* remained Masters of the Field
 of Battle. Such was the Event of the Bat-
 tle at *Staffards*, which proved unfortunate
 to the Troops of the Duke of *Savoy*; who
 behaved himself upon this Occasion, beyond
 what might naturally have been expected,
 from a Prince of his Age; and his own Peo-
 ple, as well as the Enemy, were Witnesses of
 his Bravery. He retired with the broken
 remains of his Army to *Carignan*, from
 whence he passed the *Po*, and encamped at
Montcallier, to wait for the Succours he ex-
 pected from *Germany*. The *Spaniards* and
Piemontese lost 2000 Men, beside the wound-
 ed, and a great number taken Prisoners. The
French obtained a cheap Victory, their Loss
 being very inconsiderable; and to speak
 truth, it must be owned, that the Duke ha-
 zarded a Battle, a little too rashly, which
 may in some measure be excusable, in so
 young a Prince, who was willing to set a Pat-
 tern of Bravery for his Soldiers.

Mr. *de Catinat*, being willing to improve the
 Victory he had gained, made himself master
 of *Saleuce*, *Savillan*, *Ville Franche*, *Sommerive*,
 and some other ill fortify'd Places; and would
 infallibly have undertaken a considerable
 Siege, if the Duke had not passed the *Po*,
 and covered the Country, with 7000 *Germans*
 brought him by Prince *Eugene*, and 3000
Spaniards.

Nevertheless, Mr. *de St. Ruth* put *Savoy* un-
 der Subjection, and easily made himself ma-
 ster of *Chamberry*, *Tarantaise*, and the *Morienne*,
 after defeating a Detachment of 1200 Men
 of *Mondavi*, between *St. John de Morienne*

An. 1690. and *Constants*, commanded by the Marquis *de Sales*, who was taken Prisoner. He afterward easily took possession of the Dutchy, the King of *France* soon became master of all *Savoy* in one Campaign, except the Fortrefs of *Montmelian*, which was blocked up by the *French* Quarters.

The Allies were as unsuccessful in other Places, as in *Piemont*. They lost the Battle of *Fleurus* in *Flanders*, where the *French* obtained a signal Victory; and the *English* and *Dutch* Fleets were defeated at Sea, by the fault of Admiral *Torrington*. The King of *England*, indeed, had better Success in *Ireland*, having brought the whole Kingdom under Subjection, except *Limerick* and some other Places, after the Battle of the *Boyne*.

The Affairs of his Royal Highness were in a very bad posture this Campaign; for besides *Savoy* being in the Power of the Enemy, he was depriv'd in part of *Piemont*, by the Quarters the *French* had taken in that Country, where they were strongly fortified. The *Italian* Princes took umbrage at this, and offered their Mediation to the Duke; and the Pope wrote him a very long Letter, to dispose him to Peace, and sent his Nuncio *Archintio* to *Turin* upon that Subject. But as the Duke had so lately engaged himself in the League, and that, besides the Succours which were arrived, he expected others from the Emperor, the King of *England*, and the Electors of *Brandenburgh* and *Bavaria*, he refused to enter into any Conference, hoping that his Arms might prove more successful for the future. Thus ended the first Campaign in *Piemont*. The Imperialists establish'd their Winter Quarters

Quarters in *Italy*, the *Spaniards* in the *Milaneze*, *An. 1690.*
and the Duke's Troops in the strongest
Places of *Piemont*.

I had always followed the Prince in the Army, where I lost the greatest part of my Equipage, by a *French* Party, at the latter end of the Campaign; but great part of it was restored to me by the Marshal *de Catinat*, to whom I was particularly known. He took this Opportunity of writing a very long Letter, wherein he solicited me, to use my utmost Endeavours with his Royal Highness, to persuade him to abandon the Allies, and make a separate Peace with *France*, and charged me to offer him some Proposals, which he hoped would be relished by the Court of *France*, if that Prince thought proper to listen to them. These Proposals were advantageous enough, considering the present posture of Affairs, since he offer'd to retire from *Piemont* and *Savoy*, and leave every thing as he found it, for the Neutrality of the Duke, the *Milaneze*, and of *Italy*.

As soon as I had received the Packet, I carry'd it to his Royal Highness, who was pleased with the Sacrifice I made him of the *French* General's Letter; and after a Conference with his Ministers, upon these Proposals, he dispatch'd me to *Pignerol* in disguise, to confer with the Marshal who waited for my Answer; but after several Journeys backward and forward, we came to no Conclusion. It must be confessed, that the Prince's Demands were a little exorbitant, considering the posture of his Affairs, and far exceeded, what he afterwards obtained, by the Treaty of Peace. I ought not to forget

An. 1690. what happened to me, during this Negotiation, as I was going from *Turin* to *Pignerol*, attended only by one Servant.

Being both disguised in Monks Habits, we were met at the Entrance into *Pignerol*, by a Party of Cavalry from *Carignan*, who observing, that we avoided the high Road, suspected us to be Spies, and carried us before the Governor of *Carignan*. He did not know me at first, though he was an intimate Acquaintance, and threaten'd to send us to Prison, till he could make farther Discovery; but desiring to speak to him in private, I discover'd my self, and told him the Occasion of my Journey, upon which we were released.

In the Interview I had with Mr. *de Catinat*, he endeavour'd, by all possible means, to engage me to give him advice of all that I should discover at the Duke's Court; but I thought it improper to promise him any thing, judging that I ought to avoid so dangerous an Employ, which is inconsistent with a Man of Honour, and generally fatal in the Consequence.

I passed a great part of the Winter at *Turin*, where I renewed my Acquaintance with *Mademoiselle de Piombini*, Daughter to the Count of that Name. I fell in love with her the Winter before, as soon as I arriv'd from *France*; till the number of Admirers, which her Beauty daily attracted, had so far discouraged me, that I resolv'd not to visit her for the future. But being rejected by *Madam de Zantio*, a former Mistress, I enter'd a second time into the number of her Adorers, in spite of my former Resolution. As she was
sensible,

sensible, that her own Conduct had been the *An. 1690.*
 Occasion of my Coldness, she shewed a greater Regard for me, than the Winter before; and so natural it is for a Man to flatter himself, that I imagined I was the only Person beloved, in the vast number of her Admirers; but had soon Reason to be convinc'd of my Mistake.

Messieurs *de Clerembaux* and *de Buffiers*, both Colonels in the *French* Service, being gone to *Lucerne*, at the Time the Duke declared War against that Crown, were arrested by the Governor, and sent Prisoners to *Turin*. His Royal Highness, upon my *Parole*, permitted them to go out of the Citadel, and to enjoy the Liberty of the City. They stay'd at my House all the Winter, but acted contrary to the Right of Hospitality, and *Clerembaux* became my Rival in a very short time.

As I endeavour'd to sweeten their Confinement, I introduced them to all my Acquaintance, and particularly to *Mademoiselle de Piombini*, Daughter to the Count of that Name. They knew she passed for a Mistress of mine, but Love (which aims at what gives Pleasure only, without any farther consideration) soon took possession of *Clerembaux's* Heart, and he loved her to distraction. She, who delighted in the Triumph of her Charms, entertained a secret Joy at the Conquest she had made, and in a short time granted him the same Admission, she had done to myself. This raised the Passion of the Colonel to that height, that he could not conceal it, tho' he used his utmost Endeavours to disguise it to me; but having communicated

An. 1690. red my Thoughts to him upon his Love, he ingenuously confessed the whole, and discovered the Inconstancy of *Madamoiselle de Piombini*, who would have deceived us both. To be revenged of her for this Behaviour, we resolv'd to acquaint each other with all that passed, and thus, by an extraordinary Accident in Love, we became Rivals and Confidants at the same time; but an Adventure soon happen'd, which delivered me from my Competitor.

Though *Madamoiselle de Piombini* loved, or pretended to love, *Clerembaux*, she had Virtue sufficient to withstand the vigorous Attacks of her Lover. He was not discouraged at this Resistance, but thought he might succeed, by surprising her at Night in her Bed. To this end, he hid himself in the Garden, instead of going home, and stole into her Bed-chamber, when he thought every body was asleep, by the assistance of the Chambermaid, who was in his interest. He approached softly towards the Bed-side to awake her, but the Surprise she was in, at the Sight of a Man near her in the middle of the Night, made her shriek several times aloud, before she perceived who it was. The Count her Father, with some of his Servants, ran quickly into the Room, at the Noise, and surrounded *Clerembaux*, before he could escape, who was instantly seized and disarm'd, and suspected to be a Thief, till the Light discovered who he was. He was in the greatest Confusion at his being taken in such a manner, and was led to his Mistress, in order to be confronted with her, where he frankly confessed the whole matter. The Father, who

who was a prudent Man, satisfy'd himself *An. 1698* with charging his Daughter to see him no more, and *Clerembaux* was so confounded at the Accident, that he never since sought the Opportunity.

De Buffiere, my other Prisoner, was more successful in his Amours; he had not made his Addresses to *Madam de la Mothe* above a Month, without gaining his Point. This Lady was married to an honest old Gentleman, whom she often deceived. He surpris'd them together one Day, and would have been convinced of her Infidelity to him, if she had not artfully evaded it.

As *de Buffiere* was with her, while her Husband repos'd himself in the heat of the Day, in a Closet adjoining, the Gallant, perceiving his drowiness, was unwilling to lose so favourable an Opportunity. He awak'd at the Noise of the Lovers, and bolting suddenly from his Closet, would have had no reason to doubt his Wife's Inconstancy, if, through a presence of Mind, particular to the Sex, she had not laid hold of the Colonel's Sword, and pretended to stab him, for daring to attack her Virtue. The old Gentleman transport'd at the Conduct of his young Wife, suffer'd *de Buffiere* to go quietly away, who came and related the whole Adventure to us, and we laugh'd heartily at the Cunning of the Lady, and the Credulity of the Husband.

I visited *Madam de Verrue* often, being esteem'd by her as a Friend, in whom she might place some Confidence: As I happen'd to stay a little longer than ordinary with her
one

An. 1690. one Evening, I narrowly escaped being surpris'd by the Prince. We had scarce notice of his coming, before he knocked at the Door of her Chamber, and therefore I was obliged to hide my self where I could. There being no Apartment or Closet, behind that we were in, I had no other recourse, than to slide under the Bed, while the Door was opened for his Royal Highness, who luckily perceived nothing of it. Here I lay quietly, and was witness to the Happiness of that Prince, in the Arms of his Mistress. I heard all that passed between them, and it was not in kind Expressions alone, that they passed their sweetest Moments. I may boast, that I resembled *Atlas*, in some measure, having carry'd the State upon my Shoulders, more than once; and then retired, as soon as the Prince was gone, tully resolv'd to avoid staying with the Countess so late for the future.

Few Evenings passed without the Duke's visiting one of his Mistresses; he generally went alone from his Apartment, by a back Staircase, with his Sword under his Arm, and without any Attendant. I have often met him thus equipp'd, and he was once seized by the Patrole, and carried before the Guard; he did not discover himself at first, to try their Fidelity, and endeavour'd to corrupt them for his Release, which they refused till he was brought before the Guard, who were surpris'd to find the Prince, and endeavour'd to excuse themselves; but they were commended by him, and well rewarded for the care of their Duty.

The

The Prince not only walks alone upon *An. 1690.*
 such Occasions; he often takes a Tour by
 himself, and observes the Centinels, that he
 may surprize those who are guilty of neglect.
 I have often seen him in the Day-time, view-
 ing the Fortifications, and walking upon the
 Ramparts, without any Attendance; for his
 Confidence is in the Love of his People,
 the best Protection belonging to a Prince.

The End of the First Part.





MEMOIRS
OF
COUNT BONNEVAL.

PART II.

An. 1691.



THE Beginning of the second Campaign, proved as unsuccessful to the Duke of *Savoy*, as the preceding. The late Arrival of the Succours of his Allies, had occasioned his former Disadvantages, and the Loss of the Battle of *Staffarde*. The same Neglect, not only prevented his Royal Highness, from retaking those Posts, the *French* had in their possession this Campaign; but occasioned the loss of several other Places, which *Mr. de Catinat* had surprised, before he was in a Condition to oppose him.

The Assistance, which the Emperor, *Spain* and *England* had sent him, towards the end of the pre-

preceeding Summer, was far short, of what *An. 1691.* the Duke had been promised. He made pressing Instances, at these different Courts, during the whole Winter, to have the Troops design'd him sent early in the Spring. This they punctually perform'd; but by the length of the Way, and the usual slowness of the German Forces, they did not arrive, till towards the middle of the Campaign, by which Time, the Marshal *de Catinat* had possessed himself of several Places.

That General had encamp'd before *Nice*, in the Month of *March*, notwithstanding the severity of the Season, with the Design of taking that Sea-Port. He took the Town without resistance, and made himself master of the Citadel in a few Days, by a Bomb's accidentally setting fire to the Magazine, which not only deprived the Garrison of Powder, but made a Breach in the Wall, large enough for the Enemy to enter with ease. This was thought to have been treacherously design'd, notwithstanding the known Fidelity of the Governor, the Count *de Foscasque*; who by this means was exposed to the Danger of being blown up, with the whole Garrison, near five hundred of which perish'd by this Accident. But such are the Minds of the People, when they wish for, and expect a long Defence from the Besieged, that they generally look upon such Accidents, as the horrid Effects of Treachery, wherein the Governor is always consider'd as the Author, and often feels the fatal Effects of such Prejudices.

Let it be as it would, *Nice* submitted to the *French*, much sooner than was expected.

Ville

An. 1691. Ville Franche, another Sea-Port, surrender'd without striking a Blow, and the Castle held out but two Days. The Forts of *St. Auspice* and *Mont Alban*, together with the whole Coast, belonging to the Prince, except *On-eille*, were the inevitable Consequences of these Conquests.

The Allies of his Royal Highness were as unsuccessful on their Side, and he received at this time the News of the taking of *Mons* from the *Spaniards* in *Flanders*. Mr. *de la Hoguette* enter'd the Valley of *Aoste* soon after, with a body of five or six thousand Men, which he easily subdued, and threaten'd to besiege *Ivrée*, that he might penetrate into *Piemont* on that Side, while the Marshal *de Catinat* enter'd it on another.

He soon arrived near *Susa*, with a formidable Army, and advanced to the Pass of *Veillane*, which he carried without Resistance, and the Garrison surrender'd at discretion. After taking this Place, he enter'd the Plain, to besiege *Carmagnole*, which is within eight or nine Miles of *Turin*. Though this little Town was well fortify'd at that time, with two thousand Men, the *French* had open'd the Trenches but two Days, before they became masters of that Port, which they made their place of Arms from the 9th of *June*, and then easily took possession of *Savillane* and *Saluce*, two defenceless Towns, which they had been in possession of before, but had abandoned, at the beginning of the last Winter.

These Towns being brought under subjection, the Marshal *Catinat* became master of all on that Side the *Po*, and threaten'd nothing less than the

the Siege of *Turin*. This was what they expected, and therefore that City was put into the best condition of Defence, till the Duke of *Bavaria* arrived with Succours from *Germany*. Our Army was, in the mean time, conveniently encamp'd near *Montcallier*, the usual Post of the *Piemontese* Army, when it is not the strongest. An. 1691.

Mr. *de Catinat*, finding the Duke's Affairs in so bad a Posture, took this Opportunity, a second time of offering him advantageous Terms, in the Name of the King his Master, for a separate Peace. The Prince, as politick and full of dissimulation as ever, pretended to consent; but this was only to avoid the Siege and Bombardment, which threaten'd his Metropolis. His Hopes were intirely fix'd upon the powerful Succours, he expected from *Germany*, which might enable him to conquer in his turn, when he had retaken what the *French* had subdued in so short a Time. This was his Design and principal Aim; tho', I am apt to believe, that if the Proposals of the *French*, had appear'd advantageous enough, he would not have rejected them at this Time.

The Marshal soon gave his Court Advice of the good Disposition of his Royal Highness, and of his Inclination to abandon the Allies. The Duke of *Orleans*, who was Father-in-law to this Prince, thought it his Duty, to join his Instances, to those of that General, and sent an Express *incognito* to *Turin*. As the Duke had employ'd me, a second time, to carry his Answers to Mr. *de Catinat*, and to negotiate for him, with that General, the Envoy of *Monsieur* came to pay me a Visit,

An. 1691. as soon as he arrived, and delivered me a Letter from the Marshal, in which he desired that I would privately introduce him to the Prince, which I did that Night, at the hour appointed by his Royal Highness, when I notify'd his Arrival.

He deliver'd his Letters from the Duke of Orleans, and was near two Hours in private with the Prince, who had expressly ordered, that no body should be admitted to him, it being so much his Interest, to conceal the Correspondence he held with the *French*. But Prince *Eugene* happen'd to arrive, at the time they were together, and approaching the Door of the Room, the *Hussar* told him the Orders he had receiv'd. Prince *Eugene*, who is a Relation, and very familiar with the Duke, not thinking the Orders regarded himself, enter'd the Room, notwithstanding the *Hussar*, and promised to take the blame upon himself. The Duke was astonish'd to find himself surpris'd, by the Imperial General, while he was in Conference with a *Frenchman*. He endeavour'd to conceal his Surprise, but the Prince perceived it, and ask'd him what private Affairs he had, that he refused him Admittance. His Royal Highness gave him some indifferent Reasons, which added to the *French* Air of the Envoy, (so easily distinguish'd from that of other Nations) gave him great Suspicions of what was in agitation, and in a few Days he declared his Sentiments to the Duke. As it was so much his Interest not to be suspected of giving Intelligence, he ingenuously confess'd the Matter, and imparted to him the whole Negotiation held with Mr. *de Catinat*; adding, that it
was

was only a Stratagem to retard the Siege of *An. 1691.*
Turin, and the Bombardment it was threaten'd
 with, till the Arrival of the Troops he expect-
 ed; and as a proof of his Sincerity, declared
 that he would negotiate nothing but in Con-
 cert with himself; and having produced the
 Letters he had received from the Duke of
Orleans, and the Marshal *de Catinat*, the Im-
 perial General no longer doubted the Duke's
 Fidelity, and they conspired together to de-
 ceive Monsieur, the King, *Catinat* and the
 whole Court of *France*, till the Arrival of the
 Elector of *Bavaria*. It was by this Strata-
 gem, so natural to *Italians*, that he saved *Turin*,
 and the rest of *Piemont*, which it was easy
 for the *French* to have subdued. A certain
 Proof, that the Capacity and refined Policy
 of Princes as often preserves their Dominions,
 as the Power of Arms.

During these secret Negotiations, Mr. *de*
Catinat caus'd *Coni* to be besieged by a De-
 tachment of 12 or 13000 Men, under the
 Command of Mr. *de Fenquiers*. That Gene-
 ral carried on his Works, and vigorously at-
 tack'd the Place, during the Time he com-
 manded; but having left the Siege to the Con-
 duct of Mr. *de Bulonde*, he had not the same
 Success, or wanted that General's Capacity.
 They received fresh Troops into the Town;
 and after a vigorous Resistance of the Garri-
 son, wherein the Religionary *French* distin-
 guish'd themselves beyond the rest, he was
 obliged to raise the Siege, not daring to wait
 till Prince *Eugene* arrived with a Detachment
 of Cavalry to their Assistance. This Disad-
 vantage occasion'd the Disgrace of Mr. *de*
 D *Bulonde*,

An. 1691. *Bulonde*, who was accused of want of Courage and Resolution.

Fenquiere had left the Siege to introduce four Battalions, and a Regiment of Dragoons into *Cazal*, to exchange the Garrison, in which he happily succeeded, and brought the former safe back to the Camp.

Alexander the VIIIth. having been dead some Months, they were busy at *Rome* in the Election of a new Pope; and though little Princes are not much regarded in the Parties made upon this Occasion, they often turn the Balance on that Side they espouse. The Duke of *Savoy*, among others, had abundance of Creatures, and good Friends in the Conclave. His Envoy at *Rome* strongly supported the Interest of the Emperor and the King of *Spain*, in opposition to the *French* Faction. Mr. *de Catinat* had desired of the Duke, as the first mark of his peaceable Disposition, that he would desist opposing the *French* Party. As it was necessary to grant something to that General, the better to deceive him; and his Royal Highness being indifferent who was Pope, consented to his Request in this Point: And as I was generally employ'd in that Negotiation, his Highness sent me to *Rome* with Instructions to his Minister, that he should not openly oppose the *French* Faction for the future. I arriv'd at *Rome* in a few Days, but my Dispatches were of no great Service, for seven or eight Days after my Arrival, the Cardinals who were assembled in the Conclave, rais'd Cardinal *Pignatelli* to the Pontificate, whom they named *Innocent XII.* He was an old Man of 74 or 75 who appeared still older, and the *Romans* had no great

great Opinion of his Capacity. He could not *An. 1691.* fail being elected; as he was a *Neapolitan*, he was consequently supported by the *Spanish* Faction, strengthen'd by the Imperialists as a Creature of *Innocent XI.* and favoured also by the *French*, by reason of some Difference which had formerly happen'd with the Viceroy of *Naples*, wherein he did not appear to have the Heart of a *Spaniard*, though born a Subject of that Crown. But what principally engaged the *French* Faction to join with the rest, was the Promise his Holiness had made when a Cardinal, always to espouse the Interest of that Nation. This he has punctually perform'd ever since; and the Hatred he always bore to the *Spanish* Government, added to his Interest and Policy, inclined him to the *French*, during the whole Course of his Reign.

But before I leave *Rome*, it will not be unpleasant to give you an Account of what I saw in the Conclave, the two Days I was lock'd in. You will perceive by it, that all the Actions of the Cardinals do not entirely favour of the Sanctification of that Holy Place.

I had Orders from the Duke of *Savoy* to see some of their Eminencies, particularly one, whom it is improper to mention, because of the Consequences: this Cardinal was perfectly known and esteem'd by his Royal Highness. As no Body is admitted into the Conclave except Ambassadors, I was contented to execute my Commissions in writing, and acquainted the Cardinal with the Desire I had to see him, by express Order from the Duke. He answer'd my Letter the same

An. 1691. Night, and the Messenger he sent told me, that he was charged by his Eminency to introduce me to the Conclave. Every Body knows that the Cardinals assemble in the Palace, immediately upon the Death of the Pope, and never go out till after the Election of a new Pontif. This Order was originally establish'd to prevent Factions and Cabals; and to answer this End the better, the Windows and outward Doors are walled up; there is only one left open for the Conveniency of bringing in Provisions, which is carefully guarded, lest any Letters should be secretly convey'd this Way; they are all to be open'd by a Person appointed on purpose, as well as other Writings, which are brought in or carried out. None but the Ambassadors of crown'd Heads are admitted into this Place, where they can have no Audience but in publick; and every Cardinal is allowed but one Footman or two, who are Prisoners as well as their Masters. Would not any Man think it impossible, after such Precautions, to corrupt the Fidelity of these Apostolick Electors, or to make them falsify the Oath they take, only to consult the pure Glory of God in the Election? But all these fine Appearances are calculated to blind the Publick, and People of Understanding know that Place to be the very Centre of Tricking and Negotiation. Every Cardinal has a private Channel, by which he receives Letters he would not have made publick, and through which he introduces whom he pleases. It was through one of these private Passages that I was introduced to the Cardinals Cell: Each Cardinal's Apartment consists of two or three

three little Rooms, during the time of their *An. 1691.*
voluntary Imprisonment.

I was kindly receiv'd by his Eminency, who waited for me with Impatience, and when I had deliver'd my Commissions to him, I was going to retire; but he press'd me so earnestly, that I was obliged to stay two Days shut up with him in the Conclave, during which Time I had no reason to be weary of my Confinement. I was surpris'd at the Magnificence of the Supper in the Evening, which I little expected in such a Place; but what increas'd my Surprise to Amazement, was to see two young Ladies (one of which was a perfect Beauty) come and seat themselves with us as soon as Supper was brought in. Another Cardinal a Friend of my Host's, sent for his Mistress, who was not at all inferior to the other two. The Cardinals laugh'd at my Surprise, and asked me whether they could not contrive a Method to sweeten their Confinement: they were both in the height of their Bloom, and by what I observ'd, understood how to make the best use of their Time. They told me there were few young Cardinals, who did not sometimes introduce their Mistresses, and that some kept them as Companions from the Beginning to the End of their Assembling, which was wink'd at by the Seniors, who remember'd what they had formerly done themselves. The most Beautiful of the three sat by me at Supper, who seem'd full of Wit, and had all the Good-Manners becoming a Person of Distinction. As we all sung tolerably well, after Supper we form'd a sort of Concert, and then danced to the Sound of some Musi-

An. 1691. cal Instruments, which were play'd upon by the Cardinal's Footmen. At length the Ladies retired into their little Cells, and myself into that appointed for me; but the Cardinals can inform you, better than my self, whether they stay'd alone all Night.

I thought it long till Morning came, that I might entertain my self with the Cardinal's beautiful Mistress, whom I believed I had formerly seen, and was the more persuaded of it, because she was a *French Woman*: As soon as I had an Opportunity of speaking to her alone, I found I was not mistaken; she was of an illustrious Family, and her Father generally lived at *Paris*. The Surprise I was in to see the Daughter of the Marquis..... belonging to a Cardinal, increased my Curiosity, and at length I prevailed upon her to relate the History of her Life. The Cardinal her Lover had been Nuncio at the Court of *France*, some Years ago. The Marquis of Father of the young Lady, lodged very near his Hotel, by which Means he soon became acquainted with his Eminency, who was pleased to meet with a Gentleman of his Wit, and in a few Days paid him a Visit. Thus he first saw the young Lady, and became in Love with her. She, on her Part, could not help feeling some Inclination for the Nuncio, who was very agreeable in his Person, and had the most refined Wit I ever met with. The Father soon perceived it, and having long taken a Resolution to send her into a Convent, that he might gratify his Sons, who were numerous, with his Estate, hasten'd to put it in Execution; and to avoid the Consequences of this Amour, told her the fatal

fatal News, with Orders to prepare herself for *An. 1691* the Noviciat next Day. The Daughter pretended willingly to obey his Orders, that she might the more easily deceive him; for as soon as she perceiv'd the Family asleep, she dressed herself, and stole privately out at a back Door, which she had taken care should be unlocked.

The young Lady fled for Refuge to her Neighbour the Cardinal, and told him her Father's cruel Order; he was ravish'd to have the Opportunity of serving his Mistress, and readily granted her his Protection. The Father, who perceived his Daughter's absence next Morning, concluded that she was at the Nuncio's, and went immediately to demand her of his Eminency, who pretended to be ignorant of the Affair, and seemed surpris'd at the Father's Report. Upon this the Ministers, to whom the Marquis had complain'd, acquainted the Cardinal with it; but he persisted in his Denial, and as she took care to confine herself to the Hotel, which could not be searched, as it belonged to an Ambassador, the Marquis was oblig'd to continue in an uncertainty where she was.

The Nuncio at first generously kept the Promise he had given her, not to violate the Laws of Hospitality, or to make an Attempt upon her Virtue in his own House; but he soon grew weary of this severe Duty, which was altogether inconsistent with his Passion, and expressed himself to her with so much tenderness, that at length he obtained the utmost of his Desires. After this, and her Flight from her Father, she durst not return for fear of his Resentment, and therefore resolv'd to

An. 1691. follow the Nuncio in a Man's Habit, who departed soon after for *Rome*.

I had a Confirmation of the truth of this History from the Cardinal himself, whose Love was not diminished, though he had possessed her so long. He had a blind Complaisance for her, kept her a handsom Equipage, and at *Rome* she passed for the Countess

..... The other Person with her, was a young *French* Woman, she had kept as a Companion for some time, who had likewise had her Adventures.

Although the sacred College winks at those Things which pass in silence, it takes cognisance of such Adventures that create the least Disturbance; for which reason formal Notice was taken of a piece of Gallantry, which happen'd the Night following.

It was publickly known in *Rome*, that Cardinal *Ottoboni* was the professed Lover of the Princess *Carpegna*; but there was no farther room to doubt it, after the Serenade which that Princess gave his Eminency under the Windows of his Cell. We rose in the Night to hear the Concert, in which neither Voices nor Instruments were wanting. The Songs and Airs were composed on purpose for the Entertainment; but the Diversion was soon interrupted by the Jealousy of Cardinal *Chigi*, who was Rival to *Ottoboni*, and under pretence of Apostolick Zeal caus'd Stones to be thrown at the Musicians, and threatened to fire upon them if they did not withdraw. This occasion'd a warm Dispute between the two Cardinals the next Morning; one reproach'd the other that the late Pope his Uncle had pillag'd the Publick more

in fifteen Months Reign, than any of his *An. 1691.* Predecessors; the other in his turn reproach'd him with being a Debauchée, and having a gallant Distemper with which he had been afflicted: the two Cardinals at length took to their Hands, and the Combat would have ended in Blows, had it not been timely prevented. This Quarrel, and the Serenade which occasion'd it, made too great a noise to escape the Censure of the College; and their two Eminencies were publickly reprimanded upon their Amours, and their want of Conduct. Strict Search was made after the Musicians. The Princess *Carpegna*, whose Interest it was to preserve her Reputation, which was then declining, denied being the Author of the Concert; but the Musicians, and those who had seen her at the head of the Serenade, were Witnesses against her; and she could not prevent being the publick Entertainment of the Town for several Days.

After I had stay'd two Days in the Conclave, I returned the same Way I went in, and receiving the Dispatches I expected from *Turin*, soon after the Pope's Election, I departed for *Florence*, *Modena*, and *Mantua*.

I had receiv'd Orders to go to these Courts, that I might carry the Dispatches of the Duke's Agents, and be informed by word of Mouth of their Negotiations in the present juncture of Affairs.

The Dukes of *Mantua* and *Modena* had rais'd Forces, and threaten'd nothing less than to declare against the *Milaneze*, if they did not consent to a Neutrality for the *Montferrat*, which was ravaged by the *Spaniards*; who, on account of *Casal*, look'd upon it as an Enemy's

An. 1691. *Enemy's Country.* Those two Princes used all possible means to gain the great Duke of *Tuscany* over to their Interest, which would have greatly strengthen'd their Designs. But when I came to *Florence*, I found that Prince entirely inclined to the Allies, and more a *Savoyard* than a *Frenchman*. I also found Matters pacify'd at *Modena* and *Mantua* by the prudent Management of the Marquis *de Leganez*, lately made Governor of the Dutchy of *Milan*.

After I had executed my Commissions at those several Courts, and received my Dispatches, I returned to *Piemont*, where I found the Duke of *Savoy* very melancholy, on account of his Dutcheſs being deliver'd of a dead Son, which grieved him the more, because he had only Daughters at that time, who have not a Right of Succession in *Italy*.

The Face of Affairs was much changed in the Army since my Departure. The Elector of *Bavaria* was at length arrived, and had joined the Army of *Savoy* with near 20000 *Veteran* Troops, who had served in *Hungary* and upon the *Rhine*. The Forces being thus united, the Army which consisted of above 40000 Men, marched from the Mountain of *Montcallier*, and advanced into the Plain. Monsieur *de Catinat*, who was now convinc'd that he had nothing to expect from the Duke of *Savoy*, and that the Peace he had flatter'd him with, was only to deceive him, was obliged to abandon his Designs against *Turin*, and to fortify himself in his Camp at *Saluce*. Our Army, nevertheless, after different marches went to lay Siege to *Carmagnole*, which

which we carried in less than eight Days. *An. 1691.*
 It was well fortified by the *French*, and well defended. They made an honourable Capitulation, but it was impossible to prevent the *Germans*, who were accusom'd to Plunder, from stripping and disarming a great part of the Garrison as they marched out of the Town. The taking of this Place put an end to the Campaign; and the *French* not being in a Condition to preserve those ill-fortify'd Posts they had in the Plain, after the Loss of *Carmagnole*, were obliged to take Winter Quarters at *Pignerol*, or to repass the Mountains and abandon *Piemont* to the Allies.

Affairs did not go so happily in *Savoy*, the whole Province was in subjection to *France*, except the Fort of *Montmelian*, which was deem'd impregnable: The *French* had block'd it up near twelve Months, without daring to besiege it for fear of Miscarrying: But it soon appeared that the strongest Places may be brought to Subjection. Mr. *de la Hoguette* having abandon'd the Valley of *Aoste*, upon Advice of the approach of a strong Detachment from the *Piemontese* Army, retired to join his Troops with those which formed the Blockade of *Montmelian*, then began the Siege in Form, and became master of the Place much sooner than was expected, notwithstanding the Severity of the Season. The Marquis *de Bagnasque*, who commanded in the Fort, acquired little Honour in the Defence of it; but he had so many Friends at Court, that he was recompens'd with the Title of Lieutenant General, and Commander of the Order of the *Annuntiade*, when another would have met with Disgrace. Affairs

An. 1691. *fairs* succeeded no better in *Flanders*: *Waldek* being still unfortunate, suffer'd the Rear-Guard of his Army to be totally routed near *Leuse*, by the Troops of the House of *France*, who lost many brave Men in the Battle. *Boufflers* had very much damaged the Town of *Liege*, by Canonading and Bombarding it from the beginning of the Campaign. Affairs went something better in *Hungary* and *Ireland*. Prince *Lewis* of *Baden* obtained the famous Victory of *Salinken* over the *Turks*, wherein the Grand Visier was killed; and General *Ginkel* that of *Abgrim* over the *Irish*, after taking *Athlone* and some other Places. The Loss of this Battle was soon follow'd by that of *Limerick*, and the whole Kingdom, as well as *Scotland*, where the *Highlanders*, who had been faithful to King *James*, submitted after the Reduction of *Ireland*.

Monfieur de Catinat never gave greater proofs of his Ability in the command of an Army than in this Campaign. He had now facing him, the best, strongest and genteelest Army that had appeared in *Italy* a long time, and the Peasants behind him, who had taken possession of the Mountains and Passes, which so straitned his Camp, that not a Man durst separate himself from it. Notwithstanding this, he posted himself so advantageously, that with good Conduct he escaped with the loss of a few Men, and some Horses which died or fell into the Hands of the Peasants. This General was not satisfy'd with having prevented his Army from being beaten; he was ashamed that the Campaign should be at an end, without gaining some considerable Advantage. He took his Opportunity therefore, and

and when we approach'd to lay Siege to *Suza* An. 1691. at the close of the Campaign, he fell so *à propos* upon us, after he had receiv'd some Reinforcements, that he obliged us to quit that Post with Loss. The Duke, who is always present where there is greatest Danger, would have been taken Prisoner, or lost his Life upon this Occasion, if he had not been relieved by the *Cadets* of *Brandenburgh*, who were largely rewarded for their Service.

I can't finish my Account of this Campaign, without making some Reflexions upon the Vanity of the *Spaniards*. After the Arrival of the Imperial Troops, they pretended to have the Rank before the *Germans*, and founded their Title to it, upon the Kingdom of *Spain* being deliver'd in Partition to *Philip* II. Son of *Charles* V. who was the eldest. This had remained undecided the preceding Campaign, but they renew'd their Pretensions upon the Arrival of the Elector of *Bavaria*. The Emperor to whom all *European* Princes yield without opposition, could not bear the Pretension of the *Spaniards*, and alledged that among crowned Heads, Regard was not had to the Elder or Younger, but to the Rank and Dignity, and that the King of *Spain* ought not to scruple the Rank with him in quality of Emperor, and the rather, because that Crown had granted it some Years ago to the Kings of *France*, by a formal Declaration of its Ambassador at *Paris*, and moreover that *France* had not once thought of disputing it with him. The *Spaniards* being dissatisfied with these Reasons, the Elector of *Bavaria*, who commanded the Army, order'd the March in such manner that
both

An. 1691. both Parties were satisfied, and had the Honour in their Turns; and the *Spaniards* encamped separate to avoid Disputes. This puts me in mind of a pleasant Passage, which makes it appear how fond that Nation is of Trifles.

As I was once returning to our Camp from *Turin*, I met a *Spanish* Soldier, whom I desired to direct me to the Army. He told me, if I would follow him, he would shew me the Way, and to my great surprize I found I was in the *Spanish* Camp. I was angry at being thus deceived, but the Soldier answer'd, that he had conducted me to the Army as I had desired him, and that he knew of no other but their own; looking upon the rest of the Troops only as Detachments design'd for the Assistance of the *Spaniards*. They were about 10 or 12000 Men, and only five Regiments of native *Spaniards*, and our Army consisted of above 30000. This puts me in mind of what I had read in the *Spanish* Gazette at *Milan*, when Admiral *Ruffel* entered the *Mediterranean* in 1694 with the *English* and *Dutch* Fleet consisting of sixty Men of War, who were joined at *Cadix* by five or six old *Spanish* Vessels commanded by *Papachin*. There was at that time inserted in the Gazette this Expression; *los Esquadriles Ingleses y Hollandeses hanno juntado la Flota del Rey: The English and Dutch Squadrons have joined the King's Fleet.* This Vanity is not only among the *Grandeess*, but extends even to the meanest People in the Country.

I kept Correspondence by Letter with *Mademoiselle de Piombini*, during the Campaign; and as the Post of *Aid de Camp* to the Duke obliged

obliged me to be often at *Turin*, I had some- *An. 1691.*
 times an Opportunity of seeing her; but my
 Passion was so strong that it was not satisfied
 with this; and being seldom encamped above
 a day's Journey from the Town, under pre-
 tence of going to hunt, or upon some other
 party of Pleasure, I often went and passed an
 hour or two with her, and then returned to
 the Army. It happen'd so often that at length
 it brought a slight Punishment upon me; for
 some body who had seen me at *Turin* had In-
 discretion enough to report it to the Prince,
 who was angry that I left the Camp without
 Leave, and at my Return ordered me to be
 confined to my Tent. I stay'd there a Week,
 during which time I was diverted by my
 Friends; but as his Highness easily excused
 those faults which proceeded from Gallantry,
 he soon forgave this, which he knew had its
 Origin from Love.

This is not the only Folly my Passion obliged
 me to commit; after the Campaign was ended,
 I was guilty of another in which I endanger'd
 my Life. *Madamoiselle de Piombini* had re-
 ceived some shocking Expressions from the
Chevalier Facio, at which she was extremely
 displeased, and made her Complaints to me,
 insinuating that the only way of engaging her
 Heart was to revenge her Quarrel. I was
 ashamed to represent the Knight of *la Man-
 cha*, by seeking a Quarrel upon account of a
 Mistress; but what cannot a Woman, who
 breathes Hatred and Revenge, inspire into
 the Heart of a Lover? She expressed her
 Grief in such lively Colours, that with little
 solicitation I parted with her, fully resolv'd to
 espouse her Quarrel.

An. 1691. I would not send him a direct Challenge, being unwilling it should be reported that I had fought for the Love of a Woman, but sought an opportunity of picking a *German* Quarrel with him, which offering in a few days, we went on the other side the *Po* to fight. I was not so lucky in this Duel as in that at *Bezanson*, for at the first Onset I received a Thrust quite thro' my Right Arm, which disabled me. The Chevalier bound it up, and took care to see me home. But neglecting the Wound at first, my Arm swelled to that degree afterward, that I was confined to my Bed: I recovered however in a Month's time by the Diligence and Skill of my Surgeon.

Though I took all possible care to conceal the Reasons which engaged me in this Quarrel, it soon took air; some blamed, and others approved my Conduct. The Chevalier himself easily perceived that I had sought a Quarrel with him upon *Madamoiselle de Piombini's* Account, and did not a little contribute towards confirming the Report.

This Affair came to the Duke's Ears, who did not much concern himself to prevent Duels, which are not very common in *Italy*; he pretended to be ignorant of the Accident, and looked upon my Wound as some illness which had seized me. *Madamoiselle de Piombini* extremely satisfy'd, that the Chevalier *Facio* was convinc'd she had still some Friends remaining who would hazard their Lives for her, sent daily to enquire of my Health, came often herself when she could steal an Opportunity, and forgot nothing to express her Obligation. But my Wound

Wound allowing me time to reflect, I conceived it impossible, that she would have engaged me in this Rencounter with *Facio*, if she had sincerely loved me. This, added to the secret Pleasure she cherished, that I had fought for her, which far exceeded her affected Grief at my Wound, began to diminish my Passion, and contributed very much to my forgetting her in the end.

My Example made most of the Women of *Turin* require their Lovers to demand Satisfaction for them, upon the least Affront; but one, among the rest, became the Dupe of such a Demand.

Two Officers, very good Friends and Comrades, visited the Daughter of an Attorney, and both pretended to be passionately in love with her. She thought herself a little injured by one of those Gentlemen, who had used some satyrical Expression, and complained of it with Tears to the other Officer, earnestly intreating him to be revenged on his Comrade. At first he endeavoured to dissuade her from the Design, and represented the Affront, as not of consequence sufficient; but she was so spirited with Revenge, that she exclaimed against her Gallant as a Coward, and told him in a Passion, that she attributed his Reasons, rather to the want of Courage than Love. This Reflexion made him resolve to play her a Trick; therefore he promis'd, that since she insisted upon it, he was ready to send a Challenge to his Friend, upon Condition, that she would recompense the Sacrifice he so generously made of his Life for her sake; and declared he would undertake it upon no other Terms. Though she had been virtuous

E till

An. 1691 till this time, the Pleasure of Revenge made her promise the Officer all he desired. He went immediately to communicate the whole Affair to his Friend, who was glad to assist him in obtaining the Lady's Favours, giving him his Sword, and keeping his Room for some time, that she might believe he was wounded. The other Officer carried his Friend's Sword to her, tinged with the Blood of a Fowl, pretending he had wounded and disarmed his Enemy. She, who readily believed it by such Marks, honourably kept her Word, and granted the Officer all that she had promised. This was too curious an Adventure to remain in Silence; and the Officer, who pretended to be wounded, being come abroad, soon divulged the Affair, which became the publick Entertainment of the Town. The young Lady was so ashamed of it, that she took the common Road of the unfortunate, and retired into a Convent, where she had Leisure to repent of a Crime, that the Thirst of Revenge had made her commit.

The whole Winter passed in Joy and Pleasure at the Court of *Savoy*, at which were several Princes of *Germany* and *Italy*, with a vast concourse of General and Subaltern Officers of all Nations. Though the Elector of *Bavaria* did not stay long after the end of the Campaign, being called by the King of *Spain* to take the Government of the *Neitherlands* upon him, he stayed long enough to make himself talked of for his Amours. I shall relate the only pleasant Adventure I remember among them, which proved to be at the Expence of a young Creature's Fortune.

A Merchant's Daughter, one of the most beautiful in the City of *Turin*, came in Company with several others, out of Curiosity to see the Prince at Dinner, who distinguished her immediately from the rest of her Companions, and presented her a Plate of Fruit with his own Hands, which she modestly received with a Blush, that was no small Addition to her Charms. The Elector secretly gave her a Wink, and privately shewed her a Diamond of considerable Value, which he had upon his Finger. At another time perhaps she would not have refused the silent Offer the Duke had made; but she had been lately promised in Marriage to the Imperial Ambassador's Secretary at the Court of *Turin*. This was a Fortune her Beauty had attracted, and with all her Charms, she had never flattered herself with the Hopes of so advantageous an Alliance: For this Reason she gave no Attention to the Duke; and when one of his Confidants had more fully explained his Sentiments to her, as she was going away, she rejected his Proposal with Disdain. The Elector was so far from being discouraged upon the first Refusal, that he was wont to say, *A Place which holds out one Attack, may surrender at the second or third*; and therefore wrote the following Letter to her the next Morning.

Charming Creature,

YOU ought to have been sensible Yesterday of the Impression your Beauty had made upon my Heart. If I was admitted to see you every Day, and express my Affection to you my self, I

An. 1691 could do it better than another; but this you know is impossible. Therefore if the Diamond you saw Yesterday, and two thousand Crowns, can engage your Conversation for one Hour in private, you need only follow the Bearer, who will come to conduct you in the Dusk of the Evening. I leave you the whole Day to resolve on it, and expect you with Impatience to-night.

This Letter gave occasion to a thousand Reflexions, and she would willingly have received the Diamond and the two thousand Crowns; but, as the Duke had the Character of being indiscreet, she was afraid it might come to the Knowledge of the Secretary her Lover. Her Gallant entred the Room, as she was still deliberating what Resolution to take. She could not conceal her Trouble, and he pressed her so often to tell him the Cause of it, that at length she shewed him the Prince's Letter, highly esteeming herself upon the Discovery, and extolling her Constancy to him. The very Method she took to secure her Lover, proved to be the Occasion of her losing him in the end.

What she had revealed to her Gallant, raised an Inclination in him to try, whether she could resist a Person of greater Secrecy than the Duke, to whom she might pass unknown. To carry on his Project, he applied himself to one of those Women, who make it their Business to corrupt the Sex, and promised her ten Pistoles to procure him the Damsel of whom we are speaking; and that he might succeed the better, he passed for a Traveller, whose Affairs obliged him to set out for Rome the next Day. Besides the ten Pistoles, there

there was a Purse with a hundred *Louisd'ors* *An. 1691.*
 for the young Girl, with whom he declared himself passionately in Love. She had just given the Elector's Messenger a second Answer, and had absolutely rejected his Proposals, when the old Woman (who had received two Pistoles advance) entred the House, with a Design to corrupt her. At first she scornfully disdained the hundred *Louisd'ors*, promised her on the Part of the pretended Stranger, declaring that she would not sacrifice her Honour for that Sum, since she had already refused two thousand Crowns and a valuable Jewel from the Elector of *Bavaria*. But the Woman, being artful in her Business, made her so sensible of the Difference (adding, besides the Stranger's Discretion, that he was to set out the next Morning for *Rome*, and therefore could have neither Time or Opportunity to reveal the Favours she granted) that at length she prevailed upon her to accept of the hundred *Louisd'ors*, which she had occasion for at that time, to make some Preparations against her Marriage. She followed the old Woman home, where the Secretary was waiting *incognito*; and to succeed the better, he had the Precaution to receive her in a dark Room, pretending that his Fortune was at stake, if he should be discovered. His Tongue could not betray him, since he employed the time he stayed with the *Damuel* in something more than Discourse. The dark Scene being ended, he called for a Candle, and had no sooner spoke, than she imagined she knew the Voice; but was in the greatest Confusion, when the Light discovered him to be her Gallant. He obliged her immediately to return

An. 1691. the hundred *Louis d'ors* she had received, and thrust her out, saying, she ought to be treated more like a Courtisane, than a Girl of Honour; and when he had paid the Woman, who had served him upon this Occasion, he parted from her, solemnly protesting to see her no more. He soon divulged the Affair, which was the Ruin of the Girl, who, finding her Reputation lost, and herself abandon'd by her Lover, upon the very Brink of Marriage, led a debauched Life, and became common at last.

His Royal Highness had till this time peaceably enjoy'd the Heart of his Mistress, the Countess of *Verrue*; and though she was naturally inconstant, she made it her Duty to be faithful to her Sovereign. But the Duke's late Inconstancy had created a Design in her of seeking a Recompence, for the Time the Prince spent with her Rivals, by following his Example; and she made choice of the Marquis de *Montbrun*, Colonel of the *French* Religious Regiment, for that Purpose. Monsieur de *Montbrun* was too experienced a Courtier, to be insensible of the Dangers to which he was exposed, by being Rival to a Sovereign Prince, and cautiously declined the Advances she had made: But at length, her Discourse put him under a Necessity of returning an Answer, and he thought he should offend against the Laws of Gallantry and Good-manners, if he refused such Offers from the most beautiful Woman in *Piemont*.

At first he frequented her in point of Civility; but Passion and Love became the Motives of his Visits in a short time; and being naturally tender-hearted, he could not with-
stand

stand the Force of her Charms above a Fort-
 night. The Countess secretly triumphed at
 the Conquest she had made of his Heart; but
 either for want of Art to conceal her Passion,
 a Disregard to the Duke's Knowledge of it,
 or from the Indiscretion of her Servants, he
 was soon acquainted that the Marquis de *Mont-
 brun* was his Competitor. The Prince took
 no notice of it to him; but ordered all the
 Colonels to repair to their respective Regi-
 ments, under pretence of a secret Expedition
 against the Enemy. This Order was given
 only to send the Marquis from *Turin*, that the
 Duke might have the Opportunity of regain-
 ing the Heart of the Countess in his Absence.
 He was no sooner gone, than his Royal High-
 ness employed all possible Methods to stifle
 that Passion in its Infancy, which she had
 conceived for her new Gallant. *Madam de
 Verrue*, overjoyed that the Thoughts of a Ri-
 val had re-engaged the Duke, promised all
 he desired, and particularly to observe the
 same Constancy she had always observed be-
 fore.

Monsieur de Montbrun was so passionately
 in love with the Countess, that he could not
 stay a Fortnight in Garrison, without going
 privately to see her; and met with a suitable
 Return of Love, notwithstanding her Pro-
 mise to the Prince. Matters were come to
 that Crisis, that she could not forbid him the
 House, as she had promised the Duke; and
 openly revealed to him the very Steps his
 Royal Highness had taken to be reconciled
 to her, and the Engagements she was obliged
 to enter into with him; upon his Account.
 They agreed therefore to see each other with

An. 1691. more Circumspection for the future, and parted more deeply in Love than before; then the Marquis returned to the Garrison, as privately as he had left it.

He was too successful the first Journey, not to undertake a second; and in a few Days returned to visit the Countess in the same manner. He entred at a back Door, of which he had a Key; and stealing gently into her Room, with the Thoughts of surprising her, he approached the Feet of the Bed, where he expected to find her alone; but to his Astonishment discovered the Duke, who was hid by the Curtain. He offered immediately to retire; but the Prince rising up, took him by the Hand, and civilly presenting him his Chair, desired him, with a Smile, to sit down; saying, You will fill this Place at present better than my self; and, in all probability, it is not the first time you have taken it. Assoon as he had said this, he withdrew; and *Madam de Verrue* was so extremely surpris'd, that she had not the Power of speaking in her own Justification; without which Accident, like the rest of the artful Sex, she would not have wanted a ready Excuse. *Mr. de Montbrun* soon recovered his Surprise at the unexpected Sight of the Prince, and consulted the Countess what Measures were the most proper to take, in order to appease him. He went to Court on purpose the next Morning, and endeavoured by many plausible Reasons to persuade him, that his only Business at the House of *Madam de Verrue*, was with his Royal Highness. But the Duke, who could not be so easily deceived, refused to see the Countess a long time; and being fully persuaded

suaded of her Intrigue with the Colonel, *An. 1691.* he resolved to seek Revenge by contracting a secret Correspondence with the Wife of a Lieutenant-General of Dragoons, in his own Troops. This Resentment might have been expressed to his Rival and Mistress in a more publick manner: But he understood the Rules of Gallantry too well, and would often say, That the greatest Revenge a Lover could take for the Infidelity of his Mistress, was Indifference, Change, and Disdain; remembering the old Maxim,

*Let your Resentment on the Mistress fall,
A Rival's Errors are no Faults at all.*

On the other hand, he had too great an Esteem for Mr. *de Montbrun* to seek Revenge; having occasion at that time for good Officers, a Character which no body contested with the Marquis: But in the end, he felt the Inconvenience of having a Sovereign Prince his Competitor in Love; for, notwithstanding his Birth and excellent Qualifications, his greatest Promotion was only being a Brigadier of Foot, though he had strongly solicited Preferment many Years.

The Countess *de Verrue* came to Court as usual; and those who were unacquainted with the Reasons of the Duke's Coldness, imputed it to his late Amour: And the more easily to regain the Prince's Favour, she affected to lead a retired Life, and particularly to avoid the Company of the Marquis *de Montbrun*: But being no less fond of Gallantry, was unwilling to part with her Lover; and the Marquis improving the Opportunity afforded by the

An. 1691. the Duke's Coldness, privately enjoyed her. I frequently visited the Countess my self, tho' not so often since my last Adventure, who never spoke without relating her Misfortunes, and affecting a passionate Love for the Prince, notwithstanding his Change; but always took care to conceal her Intrigue with Monsieur *de Montbrun*, of which I was particularly informed, since the Death of the Colonel, who was killed at the Battle of *Marsailles*. I should not speak so openly of this Lady's Intrigues, if they had not been since made publick; and if she herself, touched with a Remorse of Conscience at her past Life, had not retired into a Convent in the Neighbourhood of *Paris*, where she had a Relation who was Abbess. But I shall have future Occasion to speak more fully of this, in the Sequel of his Royal Highness's Amours, whom we shall find afterwards more in love with her than before.

At the end of *March*, I undertook a Journey to *Switzerland*, out of mere Curiosity, being accompanied by Prince *Eugene's* Aid de Camp, who had the same Design. We arrived the third Day upon the Mountain *St. Bernard*, which divides *Switzerland* from the Dominions of the Duke of *Savoy*. There is a Convent at the Top of this Mountain, where all Travellers are entertained *gratis*, and are treated by the holy Fathers according as they judge of their Rank and Distinction. We staid a whole Day at this Place, upon account of the Washes, and had no reason to complain of their Hospitality. They call Washes, large Heaps of Snow that fall from the Mountains when it thaws, by which Travellers

vellers are sometimes smothered on a sudden. *An. 1691.*

We were often in danger of being overwhelmed; but at length passed the Mountains, and arrived safe into *Switzerland*.

I forgot to tell you, that we met the Baron *de Broglie* at *St. Bernard*, who travelled with us the rest of the way. He was accompanied by his Mistress, *Madamoiselle de Palavicini*, whom he had stole from her Father's House, and fled with her into *Switzerland*, to avoid being pursued by the Marquis. This Affair had happened about six Days before, and had made a considerable Noise. I was surprised to meet the Baron upon this Road, it being currently reported that he was gone to *Genoa*. He favoured me with a Relation of the manner of this young Lady's Escape, which is something particular.

The Baron *de Broglie* had visited *Madamoiselle de Palavicini* a long time; but the Father thinking his Fortune inferior to his Daughter's, ordered her to break off all Correspondence with him. This she consented to in Appearance; but saw him privately every Night. The Father, who was informed of it, and of the Design she had of making her Escape with the Baron, confined her in a Room to prevent it, till he could meet with an Opportunity of sending her to a remote Convent for some Months, in hopes that Absence might extinguish her Love. The Baron had made a thousand fruitless Attempts, either to see, or convey a Letter to his Mistress; but the Night before his Departure, Love inspired him with the Project of getting to the Top of the House, and letting a Rope down the Chimney belonging to her Chamber,

An. 1691. ber, with a Letter fastened to the End of it. The young Lady acted according to the Directions therein, and had Courage enough to fasten her self to the Rope, which she held till the Lover and his Servant drew her thro' the Chimney, to the Top of the House. You may judge of the Condition in which she appeared; but without staying to alter her Dress, she went with the Baron into a Post Chaise which was waiting, who ordered his Rout so well, that he was not pursued in the Road he had taken. This Couple went with us as far as *Lauzane*, having been married upon the Road by a Priest of *Valais*. They staid at *Lauzane* till the Father's Anger was abated, and then returned into *Piemont*, where he was soon reconciled, by the Mediation of Friends.

I had formerly seen *Geneva* myself, but the Aid de Camp, my Companion, had not; therefore we went into the Town, where I met with some *French* Officers of my Acquaintance, who had been quartered in *Savoy*. From thence we went to *Bale*, where I met with some other Officers of the Garrison of *Hunningen*, which is within Cannon-shot of the Place. They would by all means entertain us at their Fort; we made some Difficulty at first, upon account of the War, but at last consented to go upon the Parole of these Gentlemen, who entertained us so handsomely, that we had no occasion to regret the time. From *Bale* we went to *Schafousen*, and saw some other small Towns in the way; and from thence travelled to *Zurich*, between which Place and *Schafousen*, we meet with a pleasant Adventure.

A Mer-

A Merchant who came into the same Inn *An. 1691.* with us, had met a Lady of Gallantry upon the Road, who passed for his Wife. She had a young Child with her, and they all three lodged in a retired Apartment. The Merchant having a considerable Sum of Money in a Bag, delivered it into the Landlady's Custody, pretending he had some Purchases to make in the Town. His supposed Wife got up early the next Morning, demanding the Money of the Landlady, under a Pretence of buying something before her Husband arose. The good Woman believing her, gave her the Money, which she carried off, leaving the Merchant nothing but a Child for a Pledge: The good Man rising soon after, applied himself to the Landlady for his Money, who answered, She had delivered it to his Wife early in the Morning. After he had sought for her in vain all over the Town, and found himself the Dupe of the Courtisan, he would have obliged the Landlady to deliver him the Money he had intrusted in her Hands, and to that end complained to the Magistrate of the Place, who, being informed of the Truth, fined him a hundred Crowns more, and compelled him to provide for the Child.

We went from thence to *Zurich*, which is one of the most beautiful and best situated Towns in *Switzerland*, upon account of the Lake, and the pleasant Country which surrounds it. I could relate some Adventures in Gallantry which happened in this Country; but as *Switzerland* is so little known in the Republick of Love, I think it unnecessary. The Women, in all Appearance, are educated in the strictest Modesty, and never receive
a Visit

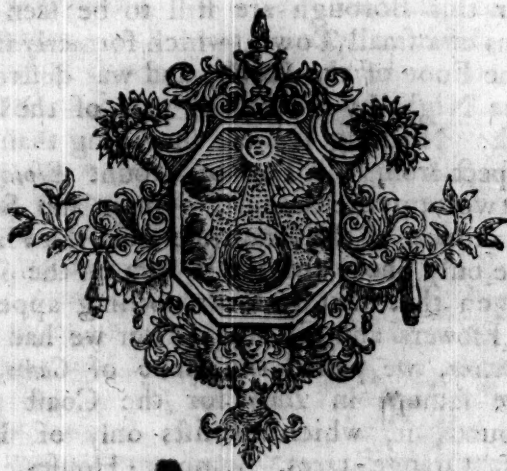
An. 1691. a Visit from a Man in the Day-time, which Constraint is recompensed by the Liberty taken at Night.

A Magistrate of the Town who lived in our Neighbourhood, had two very beautiful Daughters; and we, being ignorant of the Custom of the Country at first, and wanting some Employ to amuse us, during the time we proposed to stay at *Zurich*, offered to accost them as they stood at the Door; but were surprised to find they retired, as soon as we appeared. We immediately sent the Servant of the Inn, to know the Reason they avoided us; and received for Answer, That it was not the Custom to see Men in the Day-time, especially Strangers; but if we pleased to return at Night, our Company would be very acceptable. We went according to the Invitation, and were kindly received, and continued every Evening to repeat our Visits, till at length the Prince's Aid de Camp, who was a *German*, and had the Advantage of me in the Language, had engaged the Heart of the youngest. When we left the Town, she obliged him to promise that he would write to her; and from that time they kept a long Correspondence by Letter. We departed in eight or ten Days, notwithstanding this Amour; and having seen *Bern*, we returned into *Italy* by the *Grisons*. I had often heard of the *Grisons*, which I looked upon as a wild mountainous Country, and was therefore the more surprised to find that it abounded with so many Gentlemen. As we passed thro' *Loire*, the Capital of that Canton, we saw the *Spanish* Ambassador, who entertained us very magnificently. A few Days after, being
in

in the midst of the Mountains, we were suddenly astonished to meet a Company of young Men and Maids on Horseback upon the Road, who had been to divert themselves at a Summer-House not far off. They accosted us, and obliged us to go with them to a Gentleman's Seat in the Neighbourhood, where they had made a Party of Pleasure. We had all manner of Diversion the two Days we staid; and I could not have believed it possible to find a People among those Rocks, who could sing *Italian* in Perfection, and had such excellent Musicians. After we had taken leave of our diverting Company, we passed the *Esplagne*, which is a Mountain that divides *Italy* from *Switzerland*, and as difficult a Road as Mount *St. Bernard*, and lay at *Chiavane*. Near this Borough are still to be seen the Ruins of a small Town, which formerly stood at the Foot of the Rock, and was destroyed in the Night by the Fall of part of the same Rock. Nothing is more surprising than the Prospect from the Top of Mount *Esplagne*; the two opposite Seasons, Winter and Summer, appear at the same time from this Place; while only Snow and Ice is seen on the *Suisse* side, on that next to *Italy* nothing appear'd but Flowers and Greens. After we had left *Chiavane*, we passed the Lake of *Como*, a Place famous in *Italy* for the Coast that surrounds it, which consists only of Bay-trees, Orange-trees, Summer-Houses, and Gardens. From *Como* we went to see the famous *Borromee* Islands, so agreeable from the Magnificence of the Gardens and the Waterworks. As we passed along we saw the

An. 1691. the Copper Coloffus of Charles de Borromee, a Statue of a prodigious Size; and then came to Turin by the way of Verceil, having been little above a Month on our Journey.

The End of the Second Part.





MEMOIRS

OF

COUNT BONNEVAL.

PART III.



HE beginning of the Campaign, *An. 1692.*
in the Year 1692, passed only in
Negotiations on the Part of *France.*
That Crown, not succeeding in
their secret Intrigues, acted more
openly; and in the Month of *March* sent
Mr. de Ghanlai to *Turin*, who presented a Me-
morial to his Royal Highness, which con-
tained very advantageous Offers from the
King. The Duke answered, That he could
not treat but in conjunction with his Allies;
which, however, did not discourage that
Court; for in the Month of *May* they made
others, still more advantageous than the for-
mer, promising to restore the Places they had
F taken

An. 1692 taken from him, and to refund a considerable Sum of Money, as Satisfaction for the Losses he had sustained.

As this Negotiation was no Secret, his Royal Highness communicated these Proposals to the Ministers of the Allies, openly refusing any farther Conference with the *French*. All the Ministers of the Allies were satisfied with this Instance of that Prince's Fidelity, being ignorant of what privately passed; for at that very Instant, he held a secret Correspondence with the Agents of *France*; and if that Crown, besides the Restitution of the Places, had consented to the Demolition of *Pigneral* and *Casal* (which afterwards happened) it is very certain, that he would have concluded a separate Peace with the *French* at that time. But the King, whose Coffers were not yet drained, and who saw his Arms every where victorious, would not hearken to such Proposals; so the Conferences broke off.

His most Christian Majesty not succeeding by this Method, attempted to weaken the Arms of that Prince, by kindling a Civil War in *Italy*; and sent Mr. *de Rebenac* to all the different Courts of that Country, to engage them to enter into a League against the *Imperialists*, under a Pretence that he would deliver them from the Burthen of furnishing the Imperial Troops with Winter-Quarters, who made great Ravage wheresoever they wintered. That he might more easily engage them to accept of his Proposals, he offered a Supply of Men and Money; but it unfortunately happen'd, that those Princes, who were dispos'd to enter into the League, as were the
Dukes

Dukes of *Parma*, *Modena*, and *Mantua*, be- *An. 1692.*
 ing too weak to undertake any Enterprife, the Design miscarried. We must, however, do Justice to that Minister, and acknowledge his Capacity in the Conduct of this Negotiation, which was so artfully managed, that the Success of his Design was apprehended in *Piemont*.

The Republick of *Venice*, and the Grand Duke of *Tuscany* being firm; the Pope, who was always inclined to the *French*, although a Subject of *Spain*, was afraid to declare himself. It was thought, that the *Genoese*, in concert with these petit Princes before-mentioned, would have undertaken the League; this they had promised to Mr. *Robenac*; and the Republick had even raised some Troops for that Purpose; but the Chevalier *de Noailles* having embarked several Regiments to join them, on board the Gallies under his Command, they altered their Design, upon the Arrival of these Troops; and refused to break the Neutrality; which was occasioned by the Victory obtained by the *English* and *Dutch* Fleets over the *French* in the *English* Channel.

Nevertheless, the Chevalier *de Noailles*, whom they endeavoured to send back to *Mar-seilles* without forming any Enterprife, came and anchored before *Oneille* with thirty-five Gallies, two Men of War, and some Bomb-Vessels, and bombarded the Place; but perceiving that the Inhabitants were fled, he landed a few Regiments, who plundered the Town, and reduced it to Ashes.

The *French*, at this time, had very few Men to oppose the Allies in *Piemont*, the

An. 1692. Strength of their Arms being chiefly in *Flanders*, where the King, who was present in Person, had taken the Town and Castle of *Namur*, after thirty Days Siege; the rest of the Troops were with King *James*, upon the Coast of *Normandy*. That Prince held himself in readiness to embark for a Descent in *England*; but his Enterprize dropt, by the Loss of the Battle at Sea; so that the Troops under the Command of Mr. *de Catinat* consisted only of 15 or 16000 Men, who guarded the Passes to *France*.

Our Army consisting of 40000 Men, all fine Troops, they talked at *Turin*, of nothing less than the Siege of *Cazal* and *Pignerol*, at the same time; but were contented to block up those two Places, resolving to penetrate into *France* with the rest of the Army.

Mr. *de Catinat*, who had received Advice of their Design, and whom it behoved to know on which Side they would enter, that he might oppose them with what Troops he had, spared no pains to get Intelligence. He offered a considerable Sum of Money to Count *Bins*, his Royal Highness's first Minister, to discover the Designs of that Court; but whether that Sum was too small, or whether he feared being discovered, or was absolutely faithful to his Prince (although he was afterwards accused of the contrary) he rejected his Proposals, and gave the Duke Intelligence of his Offers, who would not put the Officer Mr. *de Catinat* had sent on this Errand, under Arrest, but allowed him time to make his Escape.

Before the Army passed into *France*, his Royal Highness received Letters Patents from the

the Emperor, creating him Generalissimo of *An. 1692.* his Troops in *Italy*. General *Caraffa*, who scrupled to obey the Prince, was sent upon the *Rhine*, where he commanded the Troops of the Circle of *Suabia*; and *Caprara* succeeded him in the Command of the Imperialists, under the Duke. The Marquis *de Parelle*, General of the *Piemontoise*, was constituted Lieutenant-General of the same Forces by the Emperor.

The Duke of *Savoy*, having left the Command of the Blockade of *Cazal* to the Marquis of *Pianesse*, and that of *Pignerol* to General *Palfi*, began his March at the end of *July* with a Body of 20 or 25000 Men, and penetrated into *Dauphiné*, by the Valleys of *Barcelonette* and *Quiras*, without the least Interruption from the *French* Troops. As soon as the Army had entered this Province, they laid Siege to *Ambrun*, which was carried in 9 or 10 Days after the Trenches were opened. They found thirty Pieces of Cannon, a Quantity of Provisions, and 60000 Livres in Gold in the King's Treasury, which was seized through the Neglect of the Treasurer. It was stipulated in the Capitulation, that all belonging to the King should remain in the Town. They therefore thought it just to search the Treasurer's Chest, where they found only 40 Pistoles; but having examined his Papers, a Memorandum was found containing the Names of all the Officers of the Garrison to whom he had distributed the Money, and by this means obliged them to return 60000 Livres, which he had placed in different Hands, to be carried privately away.

An. 1692. way. Besides this Sum, the Town was taxed with a Contribution of 40000 Livres.

The Duke of *Schomberg* attacked the Castle of *Quiray*, but failed in the Attempt. From thence they marched directly to *Gap*, which they found open; and though the Inhabitants had left the Town, they were summoned in the Places of their Retreat, to pay a Sum imposed upon them, to prevent its being plundered and burnt; and upon their Refusal, they set it on Fire, and reduc'd it to Ashes. I was witness to this melancholy Expedition; and what I particularly remarked, was, that the Religionary *French*, who were commanded upon this Occasion, and belonged to the Town, were Incendiaries of their own Houses.

Gap was not the only Place which felt the fatal Effects of the War; few Villages escaped without experiencing the Fury of the *Germans*, and the Revenge they thought themselves bound to take against the *French*, by way of Reprisal, for what they had committed in the *Palatinate*. It was by no means the Design of the Duke of *Savoy*, who was inclined to carry on the War with Humanity; but the *German* Generals thought themselves obliged to seek Revenge for their Sovereign. His Royal Highness having the Command, all the Mischief was attributed to his Orders; and when the *French* entered *Piemont* the next Year, they made sufficient Reprisals. Count *Tallard*, in particular, was displeased that they had no Regard to his Castle of *Tallard* in *Dauphiné*, and caused the *Venerie*, one of the Duke's finest Country-Seats, to be set on fire
after

after the Battle of *Orbassan*. Some Years before they had burnt *Rivole*, another Country Seat; a melancholy manner of pursuing a War. An. 1692.

At the time, when the Duke of *Savoy's* Presence was most necessary, he was taken ill of the Smallpox, which was partly the Occasion they did not penetrate farther into the Dominions of *France*. His Royal Highness was not in a condition to follow the Army; and it was dangerous to leave him in an Enemy's Country with a small Number of Forces; neither were they in a condition to maintain themselves the whole Winter in *Dauphiné* with 20000 Men, without being in possession of some well-fortified Place: They were therefore obliged to return into *Piedmont*, at the latter end of the Season, which was as soon as the Duke's Health would permit: The Dutchess, who was always fond of that Prince, notwithstanding his Amours, came to see him at *Ambrun*, the Place to which he was removed, whose Presence very much contributed to his Recovery.

Before the Army left the Country, they raised all the Contributions they could, and *Ambrun*, whose Fortifications they demolished, paid a large Sum to escape the Fate of *Gap*; and then returned into *Piedmont* laden with Money and Plunder, by the same Valleys they entred, without being pursued by the Enemy. But the Soldiers, according to Custom, were not long rich; for in less than a Fortnight, Gaming, Women, and Wine, consumed all they had got in the Expedition. I have seen a private Dragoon, at this time,

An. 1692. often set 20 *Louisd'ors* upon a Card. Yet, in this Number, some more prudent took leave of their Captains, and retired from the War, having saved a Maintenance sufficient for the remainder of their Lives. Among others I remember a Dragoon, who, going upon a Detachment to raise Contribution, entred a House where he found only the Servant; the Girl being acquainted where her Master had hid his Treasure, promised to discover it to the Dragoon, upon Condition of Marriage; and the Man swearing to perform the Contract, she led him to the Place, where he found a considerable Sum; the Dragoon kept his Word, brought her away with him, and married her; and having paid dear for his Discharge, went home with his Wife and his Plunder.

Some People, at this very time, began to talk of the Duke's secret Correspondence with the Court of *France*, which was discovered by the Allies some Months before the Peace of *Piemont*; but this was a manifest Piece of Injustice, his Royal Highness not thinking of a separate Peace at that time. Others, who did not understand the Disposition of Affairs, as confidently affirmed, that the Prince might have quartered his Troops in *Dauphiné* the whole Winter, without returning into *Piemont*. But besides the Reasons already given, there was certain Advice that Mr. *de Catinat* would soon be reinforced from all Parts, which, it was to be apprehended would put that General in a Condition to cut off the Passes. This I can advance for Truth; and that it was not till after the Loss of the Battle

Battle of *Orbassan*, that the Duke began his *An. 1692.* secret Intrigues, with the View of concluding a separate Peace.

The Army entered into Winter-Quarters asoon as it arrived in *Piemont*. The *Germans*, who had the longest March into *Italy*, went first, the *Spaniards* followed, and before the Month of *October* all the Troops were quartered. *Pignerol* was by this means delivered from the Fear of being besieged; but *Cazal* was always under Restraint.

My Passion for Mademoiselle *Piombini* was much diminished since last Winter, occasioned either by the late Affair, in which she had involved me; or by that Inconstancy in Love, peculiar to the *French Nation*. After the many Protestations of Fidelity I had made, according to the Custom of Lovers, I was ashamed to acknowledge this Alteration; and therefore the greater I perceiv'd my Indifference, the more I endeavoured to conceal it, and doubled my Visits, that she might have no room to suspect it; though I sought a specious Pretence to drop her Acquaintance in a civil manner. Her own Relations soon furnished me with a favourable Opportunity; for my constant Visits had raised a false Report, that I was promised to her in Marriage.

This Report having reached the Ears of the Count *de Piombini*, he took me aside, and desired that I would explain my self in that Affair; and the Count *de Frosasque*, who had defended *Nice*, and was one of her near Relations, examined me upon the same Article: But perceiving by my Answer, that I had not the least Thoughts of Matrimony, the Father expressly

An. 1692. expressly forbid his Daughter to see me. Tho' my present Passion for this Lady was not equal to my former, my Love was still strong enough to have induc'd me to marry her, if the Alliance had been to my Advantage; but the Smallness of her Fortune made me deaf to the Proposal, and I withdrew my self from this troublesome Affair, as genteelly as I could. Mademoiselle *de Piombini* was so highly affronted, that I had not relished her Relations Advances, that she refused me the Opportunity of excusing my self to her when I desired it; and has ever since persisted in the Resolution of seeing me no more.

I wished we could have parted in a different manner; but as this was impossible, I made it my whole Study to stifle the Remains of my Love; and to accomplish my Design, thought it adviseable to leave *Turin*, and spend the Carnival at *Venice*, where I had never been before. I passed by *Vercell*, and from thence to *Milan*, where I staid a few Days.

It was at the beginning of the Carnival; and the Marquis *de Leganes*, who is naturally generous, spared nothing for the Publick Diversion. He had established an Opera, little inferior to that of *Venice*, and frequently entertained the Ladies with a Ball, where neither Splendor nor Magnificence were wanting.

All his extraordinary Expences that Winter, were principally designed for the Entertainment of the Dutchess of *Sesse*, for whom the Governor had expressed an Inclination. The Dutchess is extremely beautiful, and of a Temper so lively, that she captivates the
Hearts

Hearts of those who are the least susceptible *An. 1691.*
 of Love; of which Number is the Marquis. He had several Mistresses in *Spain*, and, valuing himself upon his *Spanish* Constancy, had staid a whole Year at *Milan*, without an Intrigue. But can a Man be constant long, who is absent from the Object of his Love? *Milan* abounded too much in beautiful Women, and *Spain* was too remote to think of an Engagement there. Though Mr. *de Leganez* had withstood the Artifices used by other Ladies, to obtain the Love of a Person of his Character, he could not resist those of the Dutchess. She was married to the Duke of *Seste*, General of the *Milanese* Cavalry; but it is not the Fashion at present, among Women of Distinction, to be contented with their Husbands; they would think the Bonds of Matrimony too severe, and themselves unfortunate, if, upon embracing it, they were obliged to bid Adieu to Gallantry; and very few would engage in it upon such Conditions.

The *Spaniards* are no less jealous than the *Italians*; therefore the Dutchess and her Lover carefully concealed their Passion from the Duke of *Seste*; and the Governor was daily obliged to frame a thousand Pretences to entertain that Lady, without the Husband's perceiving his Love. It was not so effectually conceal'd, but the World soon guessed at the Affair; the Duke alone suspected nothing, being thoroughly persuaded of his Lady's Affection. But as he happened to be at play with the Marquis at his own House, the Marquis, upon pretence of some urgent Business, gave his Cards to another, while he took

An. 1692. took the Opportunity of seeing his Mistress. The Duke having lost all the Money in his Purse, and not being accustomed to play upon Parole, went himself to recruit it, being unwilling to trust any body with the Key of his Chest. The Marquis, who thought him deeply engaged at play, had taken no care to prevent being discovered; and the Duke, full of his Loss, going hastily into the Closet for his Money, surpris'd the Marquis *de Leganez* with his Lady. He immediately clapt his Hand to his Sword, and would have killed him unawares, if the Dutchess had not interposed, till he had time to put himself in a Posture of Defence. At the Noise of the Scuffle, the Lady's Women ran in, and with the Assistance of their Lady, had Strength enough to prevent Bloodshed, giving the Governor an Opportunity of making his Escape. None but the Duke would have excus'd a Wife, after an Affair of this Nature; but as he loved her to Excess, and had Generosity enough not to lay his Hands upon a Woman, he only declined speaking to her for a few Days: But whether he was blinded by his Love towards her, or whether he prudently avoided to search into the Affair, he gave Ear to all the Reasons she offer'd; and not only receiv'd her into his Favour, but asked the Marquis *de Leganez* Pardon, for what had happened in his Passion. This Adventure made the Governor more circumspect for the future; yet his utmost Caution did not intirely prevent some Crosses in this Amour, which I shall mention in its proper Place.

Milan is one of the largest Towns in *Italy*; not so much for its Compass, as the Closeness

ness of the Buildings. The Magnificence of *An. 1691.* the Streets is not in proportion to its Extent, or to the Riches of the Inhabitants; and, except a few Churches and Palaces, it is the worst Capital of all the States in *Italy*. The General Hospital, and the Dome of *Milan*, are two fine Buildings notwithstanding; and the Curious may be agreeably entertained with the Sight of the Closet of the Abbot *Sattali*, which is very well furnished with Rarities. The City is almost circular, the Church with the Dome being placed in the Centre; and one thing most particular is, that each Trade has a Street, where the Shops are all of the same kind; and I believe the like quantity of Plate will hardly be found in many Places, as may be seen in the Goldsmiths Street of this City, and in the great Gallery belonging to the Governor of the Castle. This Castle is look'd upon by the *Spaniards* as impregnable, not so much upon account of the Fortifications, as the Matter with which they are built, being a sort of Cement, like that of the Castle of *Cazal*, upon which a large Ball only makes an Impression, and is impenetrable by a small one. It is filled with fine Artillery, and the Guard of it intrusted only to the care of the *Spaniards* themselves.

The City is very rich, being situated in the best Part of *Italy*, and abounding in People of Distinction. The Women are so magnificently dressed, that I have known a Lady bedecked with Jewels, to the Value of a hundred thousand Crowns. The principal Vanity of the *Italians* consists in dressing with Jewels, and People of small Fortunes are never

Ann. 1692.

ver without this Ornament. It is very seldom that false ones are worn, and when it is discovered, is a Stain not to be washed off. The Women in this Dutchy have not the same Liberty as in *Piemont*; but are as strictly observed by their Husbands and Relations, as in the most remote Parts of *Italy*. This Severity, I believe, was introduced amongst them by the *Spaniards*, having generally found the greatest Liberty in those Countries which are not subject to that Nation. They enjoy a greater Freedom in *Piemont* than in *France*; at *Genoa* the same; and at *Venice* are under very little Restraint: Neither is all true that is reported of the Slavery of the *Italian* Women, or of the Jealousy of their Husbands; common Report had imposed upon me a Belief, that the Women were all locked up in their Houses, which, upon my Arrival, I found to be false. They do not appear so openly at home, as in *France*, or at *Turin*; but those little Difficulties, which are to be overcome, rather increase than diminish the Pleasures of Gallantry; and some light Obstacles help to nourish and inflame the Passion of Love. But I believe, with good Management, nothing is more easy than to see the Women in *Italy*, even in their most retired Apartments; and I dare venture to affirm, that a Stranger may sooner get an Acquaintance here, than in *France*. If a Man, tolerably genteel, and of good Appearance, only walks through the Street where he has seen the Object he fancies, at the Window or in the Balcony, and gives a Salute as he passes by; if he has the good Fortune to please her, she never fails to be at the Window, provided he

he is constant to an Hour. The next Step, *An. 1691.* he becomes acquainted with some neighbouring Shopkeeper, or Servant, or any one who is admitted into the House, that for a little Money will deliver a Letter to the Lady, who never fails to return an Answer, and to appoint the Hour and Place of meeting, which is always at Church, or at the Window in the Evening. There is generally no occasion to take all this trouble; for as soon as she perceives your Inclination, if she is the least addicted to Gallantry, she sends a Servant to you, or some Woman in whom she can confide, who comes and offers her Service, which once happened to me during the time I was at *Milan*.

Being little acquainted in the Town, except at the publick Assemblies, which were kept during the Carnival, at the Houses of the Marquis *de Leganox* and the Duke of *Sesse*, I took a Walk upon the Parade of the Castle every Morning, after I had paid my Respects to the Governor; and in the Street I generally passed along, I saw a very beautiful young Lady of Distinction, whom I had often observed at her Window, or in the Balcony; but the Town being large, and the variety of Objects so numerous, I took no particular notice of her, or so much as gave her a Salute. When I was one Day returning from my Walk, I was suddenly accosted by a Woman, who gave me a Letter, and told me she would call for an Answer at a certain Hour; though it is uncommon to insert Billets in Memoirs, the Shortness of this will plead in its Favour, and is as follows.

An. 1692. **I**T is plainly perceived you are a *Foreigner*, by not understanding the Signs made use of in *Italy* to explain the Sentiments of the Heart. Your Ignorance in that respect, is the Reason you have not been already sensible, that you are not Indifferent to one who earnestly desires your Acquaintance. The Truth of this appears from the Steps taken to obtain it. If you are not as insensible as a Rock, follow the Bearer this Evening, and you may see the Person that wrote this, who has a thousand things to say, which she cannot communicate to any one but your self.

These were the Terms of the Letter in *Italian*. I reflected the whole Day upon my Adventure, and had no Inclination to contract a new Acquaintance, being resolved in a short time to go and pass the Carnival at *Venice*. On the other hand, there is so much Villany committed under pretence of Love, that I thought it dangerous to be alone, where I was an absolute Stranger, not suspecting my Business was with the Lady I mentioned before. I was still unresolved, when the Woman entred who had given me the Letter, and desired me to follow her, saying she had Orders to conduct me to the Place where I might answer it in Person. The Assurance with which she spoke, and the earnest Desire I had of seeing whether the Charms of the Lady agreed with her Wit, and the Softness of her Stile, determined me to go; and taking my Servant with me, I followed my Guide, who led me through several Streets, to the House of her Mistress. She conducted me into a very handsom Apartment, where I found a Lady with a Mask on, sitting alone
by

by a large Fire. As it was dark, I could not *An. 1692.* distinguish the House; and was ignorant that she was the Lady I had so often seen in the Balcony, and at the Window; till, with much Importunity, she was pleased to unmask. I immediately knew her, and rejoiced to find my self in Company with a Person of her Distinction and Character.

She took this Opportunity, while her Father and Mother were gone upon some Business to *Pavia*, during whose Absence I never failed seeing her in the Evening, at the Hour appointed, and was always most agreeably entertained. Her Wit, added to her Beauty, made her the most amiable Creature of her Age; and she had the Art of Loving with all the Tenderness imaginable. Love has an uncommon Relish among the *Italian* and *Spanish* Women, from what it has in other Nations; there is none of the Sex in any other Country so passionately endearing, or so capable of expressing themselves in Terms so lively or so touching. The very Language seems adapted to this purpose, and has a certain Softness in the Mouth of a Woman, which is wanting in others. A Man must be intirely insensible, who can withstand the Force of their Charms; and I confess my self so deeply wounded at first, that I left Balls, Operas, Plays, and all other Diversions of the Carnival, to pass a few Moments more agreeably with her. This retarded my Journey, and I thought no more of going to *Venice*; but the Father and Mother being returned from *Pavia*, we were obliged to manage our Interviews with Caution; the Church, some pretended Visits, and the Obscurity of the Night,

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An. 1692. favoured our Purpose. The Woman who gave me the first Letter, brought me several more, which I still preserve, and take a Pleasure in reading sometimes; they are full of Tenderness and Love, and no way inferior to those published in the *Portuguese Nun's Love-Letters*. The Invitations I daily received from my Friends I had promised to meet at *Venice*, who were already arrived, hastened my Departure; and I was at length obliged to leave the Lady, after I had solemnly promis'd her to pass through *Milan* at my Return.

I took the Road by *Brescia*, the first Town of that Republick, a Place famous for making of Arms; and as I passed by *Verona*, I saw the Amphitheatre, where the *Romans* fought their wild Beasts, whose Remains are more complete than any other Places of Antiquity in the World. *Vicenza*, which is upon the Road, is a handsom Town as well as *Verona*. *Padua* is not so regular, but a spacious City, and remarkable in this, that a Man may walk in most of the Streets, under shelter from the Rain.

The Day before I reached this last Place, I narrowly escaped being robbed. Having mistaken the Road in the Dusk of the Evening, I found my self crossing the Country, and made to the first House, where I perceived a Light, to inquire the way; but being informed it was an Inn, I thought it would be most proper to stay all Night. It was a single House in the midst of a Field, and had all the Appearance of a cut-throat Place. This I did not at first observe; but my Servant, who went to take some Straw to litter his

his Horses, found a dead Body in the Stable, *An. 1691.* and came in the greatest Fright to inform me of it. I imagined that Fear had deceived his Eyes, therefore went into the Stable my self, under pretence of seeing the Horses, fully resolved to be convinced of the Truth, and found that he was not mistaken. I retired into my Room to consider what Method I should take; and from the Window I perceived four Horsemen arrive, dressed like *Hussars*, which in that Country they call *Capellati*, and are *Dalmatians*, in the Service of the Republick.

I observed these Men in close Conference with the Landlord, and had reason to suspect it was upon my Account; therefore thought I could not possibly do better, after such indications, than to escape from the House unperceived; where, in all Appearance, either my Life or my Purse was in danger.

I dropt my Baggage as gently as I could out of the Window; and my Servant receiving it, loaded it in the Dark, for fear of being discovered; then he led the Horses out, upon pretence of watering them, and waited for me a little distance from the House. While he was doing this, I employed the whole Family in something or other, lest we should be suspected. I ordered a Supper, and amused the Horsemen with various Questions; then went out, and finding my Horses ready, made all the haste I could from the Place. They soon perceived I was gone, and in less than half an Hour I had the four *Hussars* at my Heels; but observing their Approach by the Light of the Moon, I thought it most proper to face them, being attended

An. 1692. by my Valet de Chambre and Footman. They came upon us full gallop, and endeavoured to intimidate us by hallowing; but one falling by the first Discharge of our Fire Arms, we pressed upon the rest, and put them to flight; and then continued our Journey, having had only one Horse slightly wounded. We travelled all that Night without knowing the way, carefully avoiding the Woods and Thickets, that we might see the Rogues, if they should resolve to pursue us.

The next Morning we came to a large Village, where we related our Adventure to the Podestat or Syndic, who immediately dispatch'd some Peasants armed, to seize the Landlord; and being put into the Road, I continued my Journey; therefore am ignorant how the Affair ended. The next Day I came to *Mestre*, a little Borough within two Leagues of *Venice*, where I embarked for that Place, and sent my Horses into *Piemont*.

All the Towns in *Italy* resemble each other in some respect, except *Venice*, which is surrounded and contrived in a very particular manner.

The Town is built upon Sand Banks and Piles, in the middle of the Sea, the nearest Land being at least two Miles distant. What is very singular, is, that neither Horses or Oxen, or any other Beasts of that kind, ever come into the Town. Their Vehicles are Gondolles, which is an expeditious and commodious Water-Carriage, that rows to any Part of the Town, by means of the Canals which are admirably well contrived. People are not prevented by this from going anywhere on foot over the Bridges, which are very

very numerous; among others, the *Pont-Real* An. 1692. upon the grand Canal is curiously built, being supported only by one Arch. The Number of Canals and Bridges, without Rails, frequently occasions the Loss of many People; especially during the Carnival, at which time there is a vast Concourse of Strangers from all Parts.

The *Italians*, who exaggerate more than the People of any other Nation, had given me so extraordinary a Description of *Venice*, that I expected more than I found upon my Arrival; for, except its Situation, and some regular Buildings upon the great Canal, which they call Palaces, I find nothing extraordinary in that City. There is not one straight regular Street; and, except those along the Canals, the cross Streets are only Alleys, six or seven Foot wide, very inconvenient to walk in; therefore it is said of *Venice*, *Chi non la vede la prese, chi troppo la vede la disprese*; he that has not seen it praises it, he that has seen too much of it discommends it. The Place of St. Mark must be allowed, notwithstanding, to be one of the finest Squares in the World. The Church of that Name is not extraordinary; but in lieu, there is a Treasure which contains a great part of the Riches of the Republick, and a surprising Quantity of Gold and precious Stones. For this Reason *Venice* boasts of being the richest City in *Europe*; but I believe *London* or *Amsterdam* may easily dispute the Title.

Venice, tho' without Fortifications, is by its Situation one of the strongest Places in the World. That Side where Vessels might enter, is shut up by a Bank of Sand, heaped

An. 1692. together on purpose; and the Entrance to it guarded by Fort *Lido*, where all Embarkations are made for the *Levant*.

Although the City is none of the largest, for the Metropolis of a State, it is the most populous Town in *Italy*, both by reason of the Closeness of the Streets and Buildings, and the Number of Strangers which flock from all Parts, every Year, to take the Diversions of the Carnival; at which Season it is computed that there is upwards of 40000. The Republick being sensible of the Money this brings to the State, omits nothing to engage Foreigners to come every Winter. There are three different Theatres for the Opera, which are so very spacious, that sometimes two or three hundred Actors appear in one Scene. Here the *Beau Monde* is to be seen, and particularly of the fair Sex, who can boast at *Venice* of excelling all other Parts of *Italy*; which is owing to the natural Complexion of the *Venetian* Ladies, and the Richness of their Dress. It is a most agreeable Sight from the Pit, to take a View of the Ladies in the Boxes, who are very beautiful, and their Habits sparkling with precious Stones, by the Light of the *Flambeaux*. The Machines and Decorations of the Theatres are generally well contrived, and no Money spared to procure the best Voices in *Italy*. I have known 12000 Ducats given to a Singer for the Season of the Carnival, who must be allowed to have sung to Perfection. She was called the *Beautiful Margareta*; and the late Duke of *Saxony*, when he was at *Venice*, was so charmed with her Voice, or rather her Beauty and Wit, which was

was very extraordinary, that he became ex-^{An. 1692.}travagantly in love with her; and put himself to that Expence upon her Account, that though he was a Prince, she drained a great part of his Finances. Not satisfied with this Extravagancy during the Carnaval, he took her with him into his own Dominions, under pretence of singing at the Opera he designed to establish at *Dresden* or *Leipsick*. Nothing but Interest could have prevailed upon her to leave *Venice*, where she was so well paid; the Person of the Elector not being agreeable enough to engage so beautiful a Creature. She staid in *Saxony* till the Death of that Prince, and passed the whole time for his Mistress; but his Recovery being despaired of by his Physicians, she went privately away with all she had amassed, fearing they should make her refund a part of it after his Death. She brought her Riches to *Italy*; and at present enjoys a Coach and Six, with an Equipage becoming a Princess, and is universally esteemed; which is a convincing Proof, that Riches always create Respect, without any Consideration whether they are acquired at the Expence of Reputation and Honour.

Though the Women enjoy less Liberty in *Italy* than in *France*, they sufficiently recompense themselves during the Carnaval, at which time they have the Privilege of doing what they please in Masquerade Habits, so much in fashion at that time.

The Freedom they enjoy at *Venice* is greater than at any other Place; and a Husband does not think himself a Cuckold, if his Horns have been planted at this Season. Let a Man take all the care he can of his Wife the other

An. 1692. part of the Year, she will make her Escape in the Carnival; it is the Custom, and authorised by Law, and those who oppose their Wives, seldom find their Account in it; which plainly appears from what happened to a Merchant, who lived in the Neighbourhood where I lodged.

His Wife had a Gallant she had loved a long time; and the Husband being informed of it, was exceeding jealous, and took all possible pains to observe her Actions. He was not one of those who gave his Wife loose Reins, or thought her Infidelity no Crime during the Carnival; but watched her more narrowly at this time, kept her close confined, and would not suffer her to be masked. As what is most forbid, generally increases the Desire, this Woman found an Opportunity of dressing herself in Disguise, and stole out of the House unperceived by her Husband, and went directly to meet her Gallant, who probably recompensed her for the time she had lost. The Merchant upon his Return home, soon perceived she was gone; and his Jealousy inspiring him with the Thought of the Place of her Retreat, went directly to the House and surprised them together; she was in hopes of escaping unknown, by the favour of her Mask; but the Husband snatching it off without Opposition, her Inconstancy was undeniable, and she was obliged to follow him home: he only reproached her of Infidelity at his Return, and confined her more closely, without farther Severity. Two Days after, she found means to escape a second time, and went directly to the Senate with Complaints against her Husband for pulling

ling off her Mask, which is deemed sacred at *An. 1692.* the time of the Carnival. The Senate summoned the Husband immediately, to answer to the Complaints of his Wife. He alledged her Amours in his Justification, and brought authentick Proofs of her Inconstancy. But all he could urge did not prevent his being fined, with a strict Injunction to ask Pardon for pulling off her Mask, never to unmask her more, or to prevent her going abroad in Disguise for the future. He was obliged to swallow this Pill, and swore his Wife's Actions should no longer disturb him, since all his Precautions had only served to render his Cuckoldom more publick.

These Diversions, and the Facility of seeing the fair Sex, attracts many Strangers to *Venice*; and there is little Difficulty in forming an Intrigue with the young Women, who daily appear in Masquerade, provided a Gentleman is in the least disguised. The Habits must be the same to be admitted into the Balls, Assemblies, or Ridotto; which last Place is famous for extravagant Gaming, and the considerable Losses which have happened. The noble *Venetians* have the sole Privilege of entring undisguised, or to keep a Bank at *Bassette*. Here you may play for any Sum, without the least Fraud or Deceit; which has been always remarked of this Place, and for that Reason it has been so long supported. The following History is an Instance of the Richness of those Banks.

The Elector of *Saxony*, late King of *Poland*, coming in Disguise to play, set a Crown upon a Card at one of the greatest Banks; but they refused to offer at so small a Sum.

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Ann 1692. The Elector, exasperated at this, resolved to make them sensible he could play higher, if he pleased: Go then, says he, for a hundred thousand Crowns, since you refuse to play at so little; an eminent Merchant who knew him being Security for the Money. The Bankers were surprised to see so large a Sum upon a Card; however, they drew and lost: The Prince not satisfied with this, made a Paroli; and the Bankers thinking their Honour at stake, resolved to draw again a second time, and lost. The Duke had now won three hundred thousand Crowns, and made a Septleva upon the same Card; that is, he ran the hazard of losing all he had won, or of being paid seven hundred thousand Crowns; but the Bankers, discouraged at their former Loss, consulted together, and refused to offer at it; then the Duke retired with three hundred thousand Crowns, which were sufficient to defray his Expences at the Carnaval.

Every Person does not meet with equal Success; some Strangers who have brought considerable Sums to *Venice*, with a Design to divert themselves, have presently lost it. I became wise at the Expence of others, and did not think proper to trust Fortune too far, having occasion for Money to travel to *Rome*, where I resolved to be before Holy Week. It is the Custom for those who travel in *Italy*, and have kept Carnaval at *Venice*, to keep *Lent* at *Rome*; either from a Principle of Religion, to expiate the Sins of the Carnaval; or out of Curiosity, to see the Processions at that time. But before I leave *Venice*, I shall speak a Word of the Princee,
or

or Doge. General *Morofini* had obtained the *An. 1692.*
 Dignity of Doge at that time, for his Services done the Republick against the *Turks*, which was contrary to Custom; for the Senate rarely choose to fill that Place with Men of distinguish'd Abilities, or who have so great an Influence in the Army as this General, in order to preserve that Authority to themselves, of which the Doge is only the Shadow. To publick Appearance, he seems to be the only Governor; all Edicts, Imposts, Ordinances, and Commands, are issued in his Name, without the least mention made of the Republick. But this is only Form, the Senators making use of his Name to serve their own Purposes; for which Reason the Title of Doge, or Duke of *Venice*, is but a melancholy Dignity. He can neither visit or receive a foreign Minister, but in the Presence of two Senators at least; he cannot go out of his Palace, but on solemn Days of Ceremony, or till he has communicated his Design to, or rather asked leave of the Senate, who take care that some of their own Body shall attend him, under pretence of Civility, and are at the same time only as so many Spies upon his Actions. If the Senators agree in the Assembly, it is sufficient to carry any thing against him. In a word, he is the Slave of the Republick, has a Dignity without Power, is a Prince in Effigy, and the vain Phantom of Sovereignty.

I cannot finish this Article of *Venice* without relating an Adventure which happen'd to a *Swiss* who lodg'd at the same Inn. This was the first time he had travell'd out of his own Country;

An. 1692. Country; and he soon became acquainted, as he told us, with a Lady of Distinction, continually entertain'd us, one while with the Force of her Charms, another time with her extraordinary Wit, Riches, and Beauty, and endeavour'd to persuade us, that she was in love with him to distraction. One Evening we were surpris'd to see him come home stript from Head to Foot, except his Breeches and Shirt, which were left him out of Charity. At first we concluded, that he had disguised himself with a Design to divert us; but the contrary soon appeared, and he ingenuously confess'd he had been robbed by his pretended Lady of Quality, who had deceived him, and even assisted in stripping him, with others appointed for that purpose. We laugh'd heartily at the Trick, but endeavour'd to assist him in getting his Money or Clothes, and went next Morning to the Lady's House, who had removed from her Lodging, and left the *Swiss* nothing but Patience for his Relief. We all contributed to new clothe him, and the Landlord gave him credit, till he was re-established by a Bill of Exchange, and then fully resolv'd never to engage himself with strange Women for the future.

Others, more acute than the *Swiss*, are often trepanned by the artful Insinuation of these Women, who are admirably well-skilled in counterfeiting Persons of Honour, and frequently assume the Titles of Marchioness and Countess, hire splendid Apartments, and keep a number of Servants. I went with an *English* Gentleman who lodg'd with me, to visit a *French* Courtisan, who had borrowed the
Title

Title of Marchioness *de Lusignan*; she had a *An. 1692.*
 very handsom Apartment, three or four Foot-
 men in Livery, a and *Fille de Chambre*. As he had
 not acquainted me with her Character at first,
 I really believ'd her to be the Person, for
 whom she affected to pass: We play'd at
Ombre, and our Conversation was upon serious
 Affairs during the whole time, in which the
 Lady discovered a profound Judgment. I was
 very much surpris'd afterward, when my In-
 troducer assured me, that the Lady we had
 visited was a Courtisan, who had borrowed
 the Title of Marchioness of *Lusignan*, which
 prevented a second Visit, for fear of meeting
 with the Adventure of the *Swiss*, or perhaps
 another that might be attended with worse
 Consequence.

This *English* Gentleman, who was a Knight,
 and his Name *Williamson*, was a Person of a
 very obliging Behaviour, and had a Fund of
 Good-nature, which made his Acquaintance
 extremely agreeable, and having the same
 Design as my self of going to *Rome*, we de-
 parted together when the Carnival was over.

This City with its Curiosities have been so
 often described by different Writers, that I
 shall avoid giving a Description of them. I
 had been at *Rome* the Year before; but my
 short Stay, and the Nature of my Business
 did not permit me to satisfy my Curiosity. I
 was more curious at this time, and visited most
 of the Places of Antiquity with Attention.
 It is very tedious to see all the Ruins of an-
 cient *Rome*, unless a Person would make it
 his study: For my own part, I was soon
 weary, my chief Delight being to admire the
 the Country Seats of the Cardinals near *Rome*,
 which

An. 1692. which are very numerous, and the magnificent Buildings of the City. The Church of *St. Peter*, among others, is a Masterpiece of Art, and justly deserves the Admiration of Strangers; the Square fronting the Church is large and beautiful, and may be compared to that of *St. Mark* at *Venice*. Except the Palaces and some of the Churches, there is little extraordinary to be seen; the City is large, and very irregularly built, abounding with Ruins and empty Places: So that when you have seen *Rome*, and compar'd its Grandeur in the time of the Emperors with its present Condition; you may well cry out, *sic transit gloria mundi*.

There still remains some Marks of its ancient Grandeur notwithstanding, which is not so much owing to the Stateliness of the Buildings, or number of Inhabitants, as to the Residence of the Pope and Cardinals, and the number of foreign Ministers; who endeavour to excel each other in sumptuous Equipages and number of Servants.

My chief Design being to divert the Reader with some Adventures in Gallantry, I cannot omit relating one that happened to the *English* Knight. The Beauty of his Face; and the Gracefulness of his Person, peculiar to the People of that Nation, had so far gain'd him the Love of a Lady of Distinction; that she resolv'd to have him by Force. He was ignorant of being in the good Graces of this Lady, when, as he was going out in the dusk of the Evening, he saw a Coach very well equip'd with two Footmen waiting for him, who told him, that a Lady of Rank and Quality earnestly desired his Company, and had

had sent him her Coach. He endeavoured to *An. 1692.* excuse himself for fear of some unhappy Consequence; but perceiving they prepared to compel him, and that he could not defend himself upon so sudden a Surprise, he seem'd willing to consent, and went into the Coach. As soon as he was in, the Doors were shut close, and he was drove full-speed to a House, which at that time of the Evening appeared to him very magnificent. The Lady's Woman receiv'd him at the Door, and conducted him through several Rooms to a remote Apartment richly furnished, where he found a Lady waiting for him in a clean *Deshabille*, who told him, she had often seen him in the Streets and at Church, and had long wished for an Opportunity of being acquainted with him. He returned her Compliment in the most obliging manner he could, and in the Conclusion passed the whole Night with the Lady, without discovering who she was, being carried home to his Lodging the next Morning before Day, exactly in the same manner. He related the whole Adventure to me at his Return, and shewed me a Diamond of considerable Value, which she gave him at Parting. The Knight expected to have the same Favour often repeated, but was mistaken; and whether she had not found all the good Qualities in him she expected, or whether her Curiosity was satisfied, or that she apprehended being discovered, he never saw her since, or, upon the strictest Inquiry, could discover where he had been, or who she was.

I was not without some Adventures of my own while I was at *Rome*. The *English* Gentleman accompanied me every Day, at certain Hours

An. 1692.

Hours, to hear the Musick at the Church of the *Ursulines*, where I was not so much attracted by the Sweetness of the Voices, as by the Beauty of a Pensioner belonging to that Convent, who sung with the Nuns. By not wearing the Habit of the Order, she appeared unveiled, and affected to shew herself, in hopes of making some Conquests by her Charms; she was not mistaken, and had a vast Course of Admirers, but the Difficulty of Access to her, from the Severity of the Order, discouraged all Thoughts in her Lovers of carrying on an Intrigue. I was either more in love, or more impudent than the rest, and the Difficulties which oppos'd my Design, oblig'd me to contrive a thousand Stratagems to surmount them; among others I devised the following. I disguised myself in the Habit of a Physician, and went to the Convent, desiring to speak with the Abbess, who immediately came to the Grate. I told her I was a *French* Physician lately come to *Rome*, and had admirable Secrets for the Cure of most Diseases; and having particularly devoted myself to Convents, came to offer my Service, if she had any Nuns who were ill; adding, that I had not the least view of Interest in my whole Practice. The Abbess readily gave credit to what I said, thanked me kindly for my charitable Offer, and told me she had two or three sick Nuns, but could not possibly introduce me without express Order from the Director, whose Permission, if I pleased to call the next Day, she would endeavour to obtain. I was very punctual to the Hour appointed, and found she had obtained the Liberty requested; then opening the Door of Sick.

the Cloister, she conducted me to visit the Sick. I acted the Physician's Part as well as I could, with a grave Habit and a serious Countenance, sometimes throwing out a little *Latin*, to raise in them a better Opinion of my Capacity, and then prescrib'd such Medicines as common Sense dictated were proper for the Diseases: But whether Chance or the absolute Goodness of my Prescription was the occasion, one of my Patients recovered in four or five Days. This Success established my Reputation in the Convent to such a degree, that there was not a Nun the least disordered, but applied herself to me for Relief. However this was not my principal Design, my Intent was either to speak to, or to convey a Letter into the Hands of the beautiful Pensioner, who had ravished me with her Voice. I had the Letter ready, and had been several times in the Cloister without an Opportunity of delivering it, though I had often seen her. At length I was so happy as to meet with a lucky Moment, and secretly slipt the following Letter into her Hand.

IS it possible, Madam, that you could not before this time perceive I was no Physician, and that the Habit I wear is only a Disguise to have the pleasure of seeing you sometimes, and of seeking an Opportunity to reveal my Passion? Favour me with it, I conjure you, and you will be sensible of the Truth I write, and that I am not of a Rank to discredit you, or of a Character to deceive you.

H

She

Ms. 1692.

She receiv'd this Letter so artfully, that I began to imagine I should meet with no great difficulty in forming an Intrigue. When I returned next Day to visit my Patients, I found I was not mistaken in my Conjecture; for she slipt an Answer into my Hand, with the same Subtilty she had received my Letter. This was all the Satisfaction I had, for though in her Answer she had expressed an equal desire of speaking to me, it was impossible to find an Opportunity. At length she feigned an Illness, which Stratagem succeeded, under pretence of talking to her upon her Distemper; and her speedy Recovery helped to confirm my Character in the Convent, the Shortness of her Illness being intirely attributed to my Advice. The Reputation I had acquired soon spread among the Faculty, and the Physician in ordinary to the Convent having often seen me in the Cloister, at length accosted me, and began to extol my Capacity, speaking *Latin* to me upon the Subject of Medicine. The Difficulty of answering him in that Language, added to my Ignorance of the Terms of Art, made an absolute Discovery, therefore I pretended to rely altogether upon Experience, and some particular Secrets I had discovered in the Cure of Diseases, which I was unwilling to communicate. This Excuse did not prevent the Doctor's Discovery of my Ignorance, who told the Abbess as soon as I was gone, that I was only an Empirick, and my Design was to commit some Roguery in the Convent. The Abbess startled at this Discourse, ordered thanks to be returned me for my Services the first time

I came, and said she had no farther Occasion *As. 1692*
for my Assistance.

This Stratagem being defeated, Love, which is always fruitful of Invention, soon inspired me with another. The *English* Knight who was with me, having a beautiful Face, I dressed him in Womens Clothes, and conducted him to the Grate, under pretence that he was a near Relation of the beautiful Pensioner, and desired to speak with her. The Nuns who were ignorant of my Passion, had no suspicion of the Deceit, and called her immediately. I was now in my ordinary Dress, and wearing my own Hair which I hid under my Peruke when I counterfeited the Doctor, none but the Lady knew me. She acted her Part to perfection, and received her pretended Relation, as if they had been long acquainted, and having found means to get rid of the Company which attended her, we had time to entertain ourselves upon the Subject of Love. She expressed her admiration at my extraordinary Contrivances to see her, in a place of so little Liberty, and I often went in the same manner, always under pretence of accompanying her Relation; but as she was seldom alone, I became weary of making love through a Grate, and at last, by Presents and Civility, I prevail'd upon the Door-keeper of the Convent.

She introduced me almost every Evening into the young Lady's Cell, while the other Nuns were at Church, according to the custom of the Order. The Pensioner, having notice from the Door-keeper when I designed her a Visit, found some plausible Excuse to be absent from Chapel, and we had an Hour

An. 1692. to our selves before they returned. The artful Door-keeper took care to let me out as cunningly as she introduced me; and this sweet Commerce lasted a long time unsuspected, till another Pensioner who lodged in the same Apartment, surpris'd us together in her Chamber, while we thought she was at Church; which oblig'd us to confess the whole Affair, praying her not to reveal the Secret. The strict Friendship between them, and the good Opinion my Mistress had of her Discretion, prevented the least Uneasiness in her at the Discovery: But, whether through Jealousy, or a natural Itch of talking, she betrayed her Companion, contrary to her Oath, and related the whole Affair to the Abbess; adding, that I was the Physician, and the Relation a young Man disguised in Womens Clothes. The Pensioner was immediately secured by the Superior of the Convent, and after many Threats, in consideration of her Family, she was sent privately home, lest the Reputation of the Convent should suffer, by making the Affair publick. The Door-keeper soon acquainted me with the Discovery which had been made, and the Danger to which she was expos'd; therefore made her Escape from the Convent, before the Nuns could lay hold of her Person.

I gave her a little Money to comfort her, and to inform me where the Lady was sent; and was a long time, notwithstanding, without seeing or writing to her; but the Door-keeper at last found means to prevail upon one of the Servants, not only to deliver my Letters, but to procure me the Opportunity of speaking to her, though she was narrowly

ly watched at home. The numerous Difficulties I met, had so inflamed my Passion, that I resolved to undertake what she pleased, to release her from the Slavery she endured, and consented to the very first Proposal, which was, to steal her privately away, taking proper Measures to put it in Execution, by securing the same Servant in our Interest, who had assisted us before. I hired a Boat with a pair of Oars, and came that Evening on the Backside of the House, which looked upon the *Tiber*, where I was to place a Ladder against her Window, that she might get into the Boat; and then carry her from *Rome*, for fear of being pursued. This being effected, I proposed to marry her; not doubting but the Father, as she was an only Daughter, would agree to a Marriage it was too late to oppose. But the whole Affair miscarried, just upon the point of Execution; and the Servant we had engaged in our Interest, to whose Care the young Lady was committed, apprehending the Severity of her Punishment, if she was taken, discovered our Design to the Father, about half an Hour before the time. When I came with my Boat, the Servants were placed at the Window, and threatened to fire upon us, if we approached; therefore, finding the Mine was discovered, I thought it most proper to retreat. I have often endeavoured to renew my Intrigue, but she has been so closely confined, that I have not once had the Satisfaction of hearing from her since, being obliged to comfort my self as well as I could upon my Disappointment, and to wait for another Opportunity of making my Fortune.

An. 1692. The *English* Knight had another Adventure worth relating. As we returned on Horse-back from seeing a Country-Seat belonging to one of the Cardinals, very famous for the Statues, we perceived a beautiful young Lady, at the Window of a handfom House upon the Road. We stopt a little to observe her, and after a Salute, asked the favour of seeing the House, telling her we were Foreigners, who came to see the Rarities at *Rome*, and sought all Opportunities of satisfying our Curiosity. She answered us in a very obliging manner, and ordered the Door to be opened, that we might see the House. We saw all that was curious; but our principal Design being to speak with the Lady, we took the Opportunity under pretence of returning her Thanks, and perceived by her Discourse and Behaviour, that she was one of those Girls, which the Cardinals intrust with the Care of their Country-Seats, and generally serve for more Purposes than one. The Knight being very susceptible of Love, and not scrupulous in his Amours, provided the Charms of his Mistress were equal to those of this Lady, was soon in Raptures, and pressed me to return with him the next Day, the House being only two Miles distant from *Rome*. I had the beautiful Pensioner too much in my Thoughts, to enter immediately upon another Intrigue; therefore he went alone, and succeeded happily in his Amour, being seldom a Day without paying her a Visit. Though all imaginable Precaution was taken to conceal his Visits from the Servants, and that she always introduced him herself into her Chamber, Cardinal *Veroni*,
her

her Master, was soon acquainted with the *An. 1692.*
 Affair. He was resolved to be convinced
 with his own Eyes; therefore came secretly
 from *Rome*, and privately hid himself in the
 House, till he surpris'd the Lovers together;
 and then turned her out of Doors in the pre-
 sence of the Knight.

They have given a peculiar Epithet to every
 City in *Italy*; and call *Venice*, the Rich;
Milan, the Great; *Genoa*, the Proud; *Na-
 ples*, the Genteel; *Florence*, the Beautiful;
Padua, the Learned; and *Rome*, the Holy:
 But, to speak Truth, this last Epithet be-
 longing to *Rome*, is so ill adapted, that I
 should imagine it was given in Derision; for,
 in my opinion, it is not only the most cor-
 rupt City in *Italy*, but in the whole World.
 Adultery, Fornication, Sodomy, subtle and
 artful Thefts, and even Murder itself, to be
 revenged of an Enemy, pass unregarded, there
 being seldom any Execution for such Crimes.
 Vice is become so habitual, by the Negli-
 gence of the first Popes, that all their Suc-
 cessors who have offered at a Remedy for it,
 have miscarried. This extends not only to
 the Laity, but to the Clergy, who for the most
 part triumph in their Debauches, without tak-
 ing the least care to conceal them; which
 is chiefly owing to the Greatness of their
 Number, and the Smallness of their Reve-
 nues, whence they are often reduced to in-
 decent Methods for a Livelihood. I have
 been frequently accosted in the Streets by
 Priests and Monks, who propos'd to conduct
 me to leud Women, for a small Reward; but
 if my natural Inclination had not induced me
 to avoid those Places, I would not have trust-

An. 1692 ed my self in the Hands of such dangerous Guides.

Though, generally speaking, this is a just Character of *Rome*; there are People of both Sexes, notwithstanding, of distinguished Merit and Virtue, particularly the Nobility, and Men of Learning are very numerous in this City.

I staid longer at *Rome* than I designed, occasioned by my own Intrigue, and the *English* Knight's waiting for Letters from *England*, who was resolved to accompany me to *Turin*. At last receiving the Remittances he expected, and having News my self from *Piemont*, that Preparations were making to begin the Campaign, we set out together, with a Resolution to pass a few Days at *Florence*.

The grand Duke of *Tuscany*, who receives all Strangers of Distinction with Civility, entertained us the most handsomly imaginable, I had the Honour of being known to him the Year before; and he would not permit us to eat out of his own Place, during the whole time of our Stay at *Florence*. The publick Diversions were very few at this time; the Season was improper, and the Marriage of his Daughter with Prince *Neubourg*, the present Duke, being celebrated the preceding Year with all possible Magnificence, had exhausted their Stock of Diversions. There is a vast number of Rarities to be seen in this City, which is one of the finest in *Italy*; but I observed nothing so curious, as a large Diamond which the Duke sometimes wears upon his Hat, and is esteemed the finest and largest Stone of the sort in the World. He

is the richest Prince in *Italy*, and the great-^{An. 1692.} est Merchant. Trading is no Dishonour to the Nobility in this Country; the Sovereign sets the Example, and delights in the Company of the most considerable Merchants in his Dominions.

From *Florence*, we went to *Modena* and *Parma*, where we staid *incognito*, and from thence to *Milan*. After I had introduced the Knight to the Governor, the Marquis de *Leganetz*, and paid him my Respects, my first Business was to visit my former Mistress, with whom I had corresponded by Letter ever since. The Sight of her helped me to forget the beautiful *Roman*; and whether Inconstancy or Judgment was the Occasion, I fixed to the last I saw; but did not long enjoy this Pleasure, being obliged to depart, in opposition to her Persuasions to stay longer at *Milan*, choosing always to prefer Glory and Duty to the Passion of Love.

The End of the Third Part.





MEMOIRS
OF
COUNT BONNEVAL.

PART IV.

An. 1693



WE came Post to *Turin*, at the time Preparations were making for the Campaign, which not beginning so soon as was expected, occasioned the Miscarriage of our grand Designs. *France* improved the Advantage of this Delay, and only kept a few Battalions in the Mountains to guard the principal Passes, while she put her Designs in Execution in *Germany* and *Catalonia*, and then stood upon the defensive in those Places, from whence she sent considerable Detachments into *Piedmont*, which arrived soon enough to oppose the Army of the Allies, or to conquer it. This prevented us from maintaining ourselves in

in *Dauphiny* the last Campaign, and from taking Possession of *Pignerol* this Year, not being in a Condition to execute our Designs before the Succours, detached from *Catalonia* and the *Rhine*, had joined Mr. *de Catinat*. An. 1693.

The *French* had sent a Fleet to Sea in the beginning of the Spring, consisting of twenty Men of War, and some Fireships, under the Command of the Count *D'Estree*, with a Design to destroy the *Spanish* Fleet in the Port of *Baia*, near the City of *Naples*. The Stratagem made use of upon this Occasion, would have been admirable, had it succeeded. Admiral *Papachin* daily expected to be joined by an *English* and *Dutch* Squadron; and Mr. *D'Estrees* being apprized of it, had hoisted *English* and *Dutch* Colours upon his first Appearance, thinking by this means to enter easily into the Port. But that Vice-Admiral being betray'd by his Correspondent on board the *Spanish* Fleet, he found all things so well disposed to receive him, that he was obliged to return to *Marseilles*.

As the *French* apprehended a second Invasion this Year (which might have been better executed than the former, while the Troops which had served under Mr. *de Catinat* were employed in *Germany* and *Catalonia*) the Marshal possessed himself of the most considerable Passes, by which they might enter into *Dauphiné*, while he guarded the Pass of *Fenestrelles*. At the same time he caused the Valley of *Barcelonetta* to be attacked by Mr. *de la Raze*, who soon became Master of it, and made other Detachments, that possessed themselves of the rest of the Passes.

But

An. 1693.

But this was not the Duke of *Savoy's* Design; he was willing to improve the Absence of the Enemy, by the Reduction of *Pignerol*, and in the Month of *July* blocked up the Place; and when he had taken possession of *Perouse* and some Redoubts, which favoured the Communication of the *French* Army with the Town, he resolved to besiege it. This might have been executed without taking *St. Brigide*; but, as it was necessary to come on that Side to attack the Citadel, he besieged that Fort in form, and carried it in a Fortnight, the Garrison having time to retire into the Town.

Being Masters of this Post, the Design was to attack the Citadel and Town at the same time, and to remove that Thorn from his Royal Highness, which had remained so long in the Heart of his Country: But upon the News that Mr. *de Catinat* would soon be reinforced to oppose the Siege, they changed the Attack into a Blockade and a Bombardment. The *Spaniards* bombarded the Town, but the *Imperialists* and *Piemontese* could not reach the Citadel with their Mortars, though the Bombs thrown from that Place went over our Batteries; which proceeded from the Fault of the Mortars or Bombs, and not from Treachery, as was supposed.

After the *English* Knight, who accompanied me in my Voyage, had seen the Nature of an Army and a Siege, he passed by *Switzerland* and *Germany* into his own Country. We had contracted so strict a Friendship together, that he obliged me to promise him that I would come to *England*, as soon as the Peace was concluded. He gave me proper Directions to

to find him; but you will see hereafter how *An. 1693.*
 precarious the Friendship of the *English* is,
 by the Reception I met with in his own
 Country.

Cazal had been partly blocked up the whole
 Winter, by the *Spanish* Quarters, but suffered
 a closer Restraint from the beginning of the
 Campaign, by the Redoubts which were rai-
 sed in several Places around it, and the Re-
 duction of the Castle of *St. George*, which was
 possessed by the Marquis *de Leganez*. The few
 Troops which formed the Blockade, could not
 prevent the Garrison's being supplied with Pro-
 visions from the Country, notwithstanding
 the Severity of the Punishment inflicted upon
 those who were detected.

The considerable Reinforcements of Troops,
 Mr. *de Catinat* impatiently expected, being at
 length arrived, towards the end of *September*,
 that General abandoned the Mountains, and
 marched into the Plain to relieve *Pignerol*, or
 to offer Battle, and performed both. As the
 Duke's Army consisted only of 20 or 25000
 Men, it was impossible to maintain the Post;
 they resolved therefore to retire under the
 Cannon of *Turin*, or to repass the *Po*: But
 it was now too late, the *French* being come
 up with them at *Orbassan*, it was impossible
 to avoid coming to a Battle, notwithstanding
 the Inequality of the Numbers; or rather,
 they did not endeavour to avoid it, thinking
 it a Dishonour to fly, or believing they might
 gain a Victory over the Enemies Army, which
 was fatigued by long Marches.

That famous Battle was fought on the 4th
 of *October*, in the Plain of *Marsailles*, near
Orbassan. The Army of the Allies performed
 Wonders.

As. 1693.

Wonders in the Beginning, and was victorious in every Attack; but the *Spanish* Cavalry, which was composed of *Italians*, being put to flight, the *French* penetrated on that side, and attacking the right Wing in Front and Rear, who had before thought themselves Conquerors, obliged them to fly, together with the Center of the Army. This happened after a most obstinate Fight, which was dear to the Conquerors, as well as the vanquished. I must do Justice to the Imperial and Religionary Troops, who distinguished themselves upon this Occasion, beyond what might naturally be expected. The Computation amounted to 4000 killed and wounded on the *French* side, and 6000 of the Allies, besides a great number taken Prisoners. The Duke exposed himself in this Battle, according to Custom; but had the good Fortune not to be wounded. Many brave Generals did not escape so well; Prince *Commerci* was wounded, and the Duke of *Schomberg* wounded and taken Prisoner, and sent to *Turin* upon his Parole, where he died of his Wounds.

As the Season was far advanced, the *French* could not reap the same Advantage from this Victory, as they might have done in the beginning of a Campaign. They seemed to cast an Eye upon *Coni*; but his Royal Highness saved that Place by throwing a good Garrison into it, and into other Places liable to be attacked; therefore this memorable Battle in *Italy* closed the Campaign.

The Allies were every where unsuccessful. The King of *England* and the Elector of *Bavaria* lost the famous Battle of *Neerwinden*; a Victory

a Victory which cost the *French* very dear, *An. 1693.* as well as the Battle of *Marsailles*. The *Spaniards* lost *Roses*, after the Trenches had been but nine Days opened, and the *Germans* *Heidelberg*, which was taken at the first Onset; and had it not been prevented by the Conduct of Prince *Lewis* of *Baden*, who stopped the Dauphin at *Heilbron*, that Prince would have penetrated into the Heart of *Germany*. Their Fortune at Sea was the same; the Marshal *de Tourville* taking a large Number of *English* and *Dutch* Merchant Ships upon the Coast of *Spain*, under the Convoy of Vice Admiral *Rook* for *Smyrna*.

The Marquis *de Montbrun*, whose Amours we have mentioned before, was dangerously wounded at the Battle of *Orbassan*. He had ever since carried on his Intrigue with *Madam de Verrue*, which had occasioned her Disgrace. His Royal Highness had long refused to see her, or to listen to her pretended Justification, and continued his Amour with the Lieutenant Colonel's Lady; but the facetious and engaging Behaviour of his former Mistress, made it impossible to forsake her, and he returned to her again, after she had faithfully promised to break off her Correspondence with Mr. *de Montbrun*. The Jealousy she had conceived at the Sight of her Sovereign's Heart being stole from her by another, was the Cause of this Promise, though she had no thought of keeping it at the same time; her Engagements with the Marquis, being too strict to be so easily broke off; and though she was restored to the Favour of the Prince, she saw her other Lover as often as she could, unknown to the Duke, from whom she

An. 1693. she had the Art of concealing her Intrigues. The Opportunities he took chiefly to visit her were during the Campaign; he left the Army, and came *incognito* to *Turin*, when he knew his Royal Highness was in the Camp. The Prince, who sometimes took a Tour privately himself, would have surpris'd him a second time with the Countess, if timely notice had not given him an Opportunity of hiding himself. The Duke's Conduct and his Mistress's was the same, and tho' he began to visit her again, he secretly continued his other Intrigue. *Madam de Verrue* was too cunning not to pay him in his own Coin, or to relinquish her Pretensions to *Mr. de Montbrun*. He lov'd her to excess, and being sensible that she esteem'd a Man of Courage, which he naturally was, he expos'd himself so rashly in the Battle, with a design to recommend himself to her, that he received a dangerous Wound, of which he died some Days after at *Turin*.

The Countess was under the greatest Concern at the News of his Wound, and though she was mistress of the Art of Dissimulation, she could not conceal her Grief, or refrain visiting him in disguise, when she express'd her Despair in the most pathetick Terms a tender Passion could suggest. He dictated a Letter to her before his Death, which I have since seen in the hands of a Person, whom he intrusted with his Amours; it was very passionately expressed, and concluded by assuring her that he died her most faithful humble Servant.

The Confident of whom I am speaking, convey'd this Letter to her, and a little Box full

full of *Billets-doux*, Jewels and other Presents *An. 1693.* he had received from the Countess, which he had the Precaution to send back immediately before his Death, to prevent a future Discovery of the Intrigue. The Bearer being known to the Duke, was surpris'd by him, as he came out of the House, which rais'd a suspicion in his Royal Highness, that he had delivered a Message to her from him, and was soon satisfied of the truth, when he found *Madam de Verrue* in Tears, who was reading the Letter she had just received. At the sight of the Prince, she threw it into the Fire, thinking to burn it; but he had time enough to take it out before it was quite consumed, and the Remains which he read were sufficient to convince him that the Colonel had not pass'd for his Rival without some Reason. But the Duke, in Consideration of the Esteem he had for him, and of his Death which soon followed, pardoned the Countess's Grief, and the Tears she had shed upon that Occasion.

After the Loss of the Battle of *Orbassan*, the Duke of *Savoy's* Council was chiefly employ'd in the Discovery of a Method to repair the damage sustained, and in endeavoring to raise an Army against the next Year, more numerous than the former. Orders were immediately given to recruit the Regiments, and make them complete; and at the same time, Advice of the Defeat of their Army was sent to all the Courts of the Allies, where they solicited for Men and Money, without which it was impossible to defend the Remainder of that Prince's Dominions from an Invasion the next Year. Each Court gave his Royal Highness a Promise of what he desir'd,

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though

An. 1693 though few observed it. The King of *England* not only augmented his Troops with some Regiments, but increased the Pension granted the Duke to 50000 Crowns. This Sum was regularly paid, while the *Spaniards*, who had promised Millions, were several Years in Arrear, as well as the Emperor. These two Powers made some Remittances however to *Turin*, and augmented his Troops with a few Regiments; but this Reinforcement not being sufficient, and the Duke having a desire for some Troops of *Brandenbourg*, was pleased to charge me with the Commission. I set out for *Berlin* at the End of the Year, with full Power to solicit for those Troops, and to agree upon the Conditions of their March, and their Maintenance.

I soon arrived at *Berlin*, and succeeded in my Negotiation, the Elector being heartily disposed to assist the Duke of *Savoy* to the utmost of his Power, as he was fully persuaded that the Diversion occasioned by the Troops in *Italy* was as prejudicial to the *French*, as the War in *Flanders*, by reason of the Expence in transporting Necessaries from *Dauphiné* and other Provinces, and the Mortality and Desertion which generally attended their Army, besides the Losses they sustained by the *Vaudois*, and the Peasants in the Mountains. I had no reason to be displeased with my Stay at *Berlin*, where I could pass my time in the Winter as agreeably as at any of the Courts of *Germany* or *Italy*. The Electress, who is a beautiful young Princess, and naturally gay, did not a little contribute to all the Diversions, with some other Princes and Princesses, who were then at the Court. As

to the Elector, he employed himself more in *An. 1699* his Cloſet, and in Affairs of State, than in Pleaſures. Mr. *Dankelman* was his Favourite, and one of his firſt Miniſters at that time, through whoſe Hands all Buſineſs paſſed; but his Fall and Diſgrace, which happened about the ſame time as that of Count *Bini*, firſt Miniſter to the Duke of *Savoy*, ſufficiently diſcovers the Uncertainty of Courts, and that he, who is raiſed to the higheſt Dignities out of the Duſt, runs the hazard of returning to his former nothing.

Mr. *Dankelman* was notwithstanding a Perſon of conſummate Underſtanding in State Affairs; and whether his Electoral Highneſs, the preſent King of *Pruſſia*, made uſe of him for a Sponge, as the Faſhion is with other Sovereigns, that is, to let him ſuck the People, and then ſqueeze out all his Subſtance for himſelf, or whether he was guilty of what he was accuſed, it is very certain, that the Fate of Men of his Abilities, who have raiſed themſelves to that Height, is always to be pitied.

At that time, the Bombardment of *Ratzbourg* was much talk'd of at the Court of the Elector, and the intire Ruin of the Place could not be prevented, only by granting the Demolition of its Fortifications to the King of *Denmark*. The Affair of the Duke of *Hanover*, to whom the Emperor had granted the perpetual Title of Elector, and the Oppoſition of the diſſenting Princes, employed the Miniſters of that Court, as much as the thoughts of completing their Regiments, which had ſuffered at the Battle of *Landau*.

An. 1693. These Affairs did not prevent my obtaining three of the best and neatest Regiments belonging to the Elector, which were to join another Regiment of *Brandenbourg*, already in the Service of the Duke, and to be under the Command of Prince *Charles*, Brother to the Elector: Prince *Christian*, another Brother, was to serve under him as Volunteer, and Mr. *de Varenne* a General-Officer, was to serve under that Prince. The Marriage of this General made a great Noise in the World at that time.

Mr. *de Varenne* being quartered at *Nivelle* in *Flanders*, with his own Regiment, and some others under his Command, fell desperately in Love with the Canonesses of the Abby in that Place. It is generally known that the Canonesses of *Mons*, *Maubeuge*, and *Nivelle*, are Persons of Distinction, and never received till after a Trial of some considerable time. They are not confined like other Nuns, but quit the Habit of the Order, as soon as they return from Church, dress like other Women, and go out when they please. Gallantry generally reigns in its full Lustre among these Ladies, who have the Liberty of marrying whom they please; but their Fortunes not being answerable to their Rank, they seldom have the Opportunity of marrying to Advantage.

The Marquis *de Varenne* was of the *French* Nation, and a very accomplish'd Gentleman; and though not very young, was still agreeable enough to engage the Ladies. The Canonesses soon became sensible of his Love; she was a Person of Wit, perfectly engaging, and passed for the Beauty of the Convent; but

but admitted nothing, contrary to the strict-^{An. 1693.}
est Rules of Virtue. The General, having the Liberty of seeing his Mistress as often as he pleased, at length grew weary of his Platonick Love, and perhaps the Canoness was no less weary than himself; but her Virtue always remain'd an impregnable Barrier. If Mr. *de Varenne* had been unmarried, and they had both been of the same Religion, this Match would have met with no Difficulty; but with these two grand Impediments, it was generally thought impossible. But what Ends cannot Love obtain, or what Obstacles can it not remove? Here are two, which seem unsurmountable, yet these Lovers easily conquered them both.

The Canoness began first, by consenting that the Marquis should take her away from the Convent, and by changing her Religion. After she had made this Step, the General began to think of removing the other Obstacle; Madam *de Varenne*, being forced out of *France* with him, upon account of Religion, soon returned, under pretence of her Husband's Infidelity. He made use of her Return, to obtain leave to be married to the Canoness; and represented to the Court, and to the Protestant Synods, that his Wife having left him without Reason, to return to *France*, he had summoned her several times, but she had refused to comply, and therefore desired the Liberty of taking another Wife. The Synods and the *Lutheran* Consistories, as well as the reform'd, were divided in Opinion, some maintaining, that if his Wife refused to come back after another Summons, he had a right to marry again. This was the

An. 1693. Opinion of the Elector; but most of the Clergy and Ministers of State were of a contrary Sentiment. The Prince fixed a time for him to wait for the Marchioness *de Varenne*, who was at *Metz*, and the Elector wrote to her himself to oblige her to return, offering to procure her a Passport from the Court of *France*; but the Lovers, who were impatient at the length of time, married before it expired, which so disoblighd the Prince, that the General was some time in Disgrace. But Madam *de Varenne* not answering the Summons, the last Marriage was confirmed, which would have been dissolved, if she had appeared within the limited time. The Marquis *de Varenne* and his new Lady were soon restored to Favour, and made their Appearance at Court, where she was in a short time universally beloved, and all Defects in the Marriage intirely forgot, as much upon account of the Religion she had embraced, wherein she appeared very zealous, as for her extraordinary Civility, and Sweetness of Temper. Though I resolved to confine my self to *Italy*, in my Histories of Gallantry, I could not let this escape, since the Marquis *de Varenne* and his Lady have held a considerable Rank in *Piemont* the last Years of the War.

Having received the Approbation and Ratification from *Turin* of all that I had negotiated for, I set out from *Berlin*, and nothing hastning my Journey, I took this Opportunity of seeing the most considerable Towns upon the Road.

The Civilities I received from the Duke of *Wirtemberg*, obliged me to stay some Days at that

that Court. He was at this time a young *An. 1693.* Prince, about 18 or 19 Years old, and so addicted to his Pleasures, that to gratify them, no Expence was too great.

The Duke Administrator, his Uncle, had been surpris'd the preceding Year, and taken Prisoner, with the Corps under his command, by a Detachment from the *French* Army, and was carried Prisoner to *Versailles*, where the King releas'd him without Ransom, after a thousand Marks of Civility, and sent some Propositions of Peace by him for the Emperor and the Empire, which were soon after publish'd by the *French*. At his Return, he went directly to *Vienna* to give an Account of his Conduct; but met with a cold Reception from his Imperial Majesty, who was incensed that he had charg'd himself with such a Commission, and suspected his good Understanding with the Enemy, by suffering himself to be so easily surpris'd, and by the Civilities he had received from the *French* Court. He therefore declared the young Prince Major, though he was under Age, without permitting his Uncle to speak in his own Justification; and not only deprived him of the Administration of the State of *Wirttemberg*, but excluded him the Service.

As I pass'd through the *Palatinate*, I saw part of the Ravages committed by the *French* Army, which had reduced most of the principal Cities and Villages to Ashes; *Wirttemberg* only escaping, by paying a Contribution of a hundred thousand Crowns yearly.

My Lord *Galloway* arriv'd at this time from *England*, to succeed the Duke of *Schornberg*. That General was well known in *France*,

An. 1693 by the Title of Marquis *de Ruigny*; he was a Man of extraordinary Capacity in Negotiations, and a consummate Politician, whose engaging Affability soon made him universally esteemed; and the Duke himself confided in his Advice, preferably to that of his own Ministers, not only in Affairs of War, but in those of his own Dominions. He was a Person who understood how to employ his Talents, and the Confidence the Duke had placed in him, for the Service of his Master, being the first who discovered the secret Intrigues of that Prince with the Court of *France*, which we shall see in its proper Place.

Since I had broke off all Commerce with *Madamoiselle de Piombini*, I had no particular Engagement at *Turin*; therefore was satisfied with going to the ordinary Assemblies. But, as Gaming (my utmost Aversion) generally prevails in those Assemblies, I endeavoured to find a Place, where I could pass my time more agreeably, and comfort my self for the Loss of my beautiful *Roman* and *Milanese*, with whom all Correspondence had insensibly dropt, and at length I found an Opportunity to my Satisfaction.

As I happened to be at the Countess *de la Roque's*, a Lady I sometimes visited, I saw the Wife of a Counsellor of the Senate of *Turin*, with whose Sprightliness of Wit and Gaiety of Conversation I was extremely delighted, though her Beauty was not extraordinary. Her Behaviour had been so engaging, that I desired the Liberty of seeing her home, which Offer she readily accepted. Her Husband was old, and reputed a little jealous; but as she had

had the Ascendant over him at home, it gave *An. 1693.* her no Uneasiness. I was pleased with her at the first Sight, in a short time I fell in Love with her, and with some Diligence and Application soon made her sensible of it. The Husband often found me with his Wife, who did not offer to conceal my constant Visits, being fully resolved not to be under any Restraint.

In this manner I saw her for some time, and not only loved her, but had a particular Esteem for her Virtue. She seemed fond of an Intrigue, only for the Pleasure of Loving, and the Pride of having a Gallant, without exceeding the Bounds of Modesty, being always reserved in her Passion, Conversation, and other little Liberties common to Lovers. I was exceedingly pleased with this manner of making Love; and as she wanted neither Judgment nor Wit, she had the Art of giving it that Relish, which is so pleasant and agreeable to an Intrigue of this Nature.

I was one Day under the greatest Surprise and Astonishment on a sudden, when she made me a Proposal of Marriage. I asked her Meaning, and whether she had forgot she was married? and soon comprehended by her Discourse, that her Design was to carry off what Money she could, and escape with me into *France*. I represented to her the Folly of her Design, and that the War would not prevent the Infliction of the same Punishment in *France*, she was liable to in *Piemont*. She seemed satisfied with my Reasons; but what she had mentioned before, was only a Preparative to a more cruel Proposition, which her Hatred

An. 1693. Hatred to her Husband had made her suggest.

When I saw her the next Day, she repeated what she had advanc'd the Evening before, and farther propos'd the Assassination of her Husband. I trembled at the very Thought, and employ'd all the Eloquence I was master of, to dissuade her from so base an Action. This did not prevail; she declared there was no Fear of being discovered, and that a more private Method might be us'd, without exposing my self, if I would promise to marry her; she meant by Poison. I was as much startled at this Proposal as the former, and not only absolutely refused to marry a Person, who could be capable of entertaining Thoughts of such a nature, but express'd as much Indignation and Disdain for her, as I had done Love before; declaring, it should be the last time I would see her, and that all I could do, was to keep the Proposals secret; and then retired, leaving her in the utmost Despair.

She since endeavour'd, by all possible means, to engage me to visit her, which I absolutely refused: This Refusal drove her to the severest Extremity; and whether through Despair or Revenge, or the Apprehension that I should discover her barbarous Design, she hired a Soldier of the Guards, who, with three of his Comrades, were to take away my Life, and make the Attack pass for a Rencontre, that the Author of it might not be discovered.

Several Days pass'd, before an Opportunity offer'd to execute their Design; but as I returned home by my self one Evening, I
was

was followed by four Men, who gave me *An. 1693.* some Suspicion, and observing, that they passed and repassed by my side, was convinced of their Intention. I took no Notice of them, till I came near an Inn, where some Officers of my Acquaintance were at Dinner, and then asked them the Reason they followed me, but had no sooner spoke, than they all four drew their Swords; I defended my self as well as I could, and calling aloud to the Officers, they soon came to my Assistance. The Soldiers all fled, except one I had wounded, who fell upon the Spot, and proved to be the very Person she had hired. He was carried to the nearest Surgeon to be dressed of his Wound, where he confessed the whole Matter, in the Presence of several Witnesses, and died in a few Days.

As soon as the Lady found her Villany was detected, she fled into a Nunnery, where the Immunity of the Place prevented the Seizure of her Person. Though I did not offer to prosecute her my self, the Judges commenced a Prosecution against her, by Order from Court, in which my Appearance was absolutely required, and I was obliged to declare what she had formerly proposed to me, with relation to her Husband. The good old Man, upon this News, came to return me Thanks for the care I had taken of his Life, and seemed resolved to prosecute her with the utmost Rigour of the Law: But, whether through Love to his Wife, or a Disposition naturally peaceable, he was willing to stifle an Affair of this nature, which publicly exposed his Family, and solicited her Discharge from the Convent, and her Return home.

Her

An. 1693.

Her Release, however, met with some Obstacles, till the Affair was moderated at Court, by the Reputation he had in the Senate, of which he was one of the most ancient Members. I have since often met her in Company by Accident, but always declined speaking to her; and, to all Appearance, she has lived with her Husband ever since without Reproach. The three other Soldiers were arrested, but I interceded with the Duke for their Pardon, which I easily obtained. Thus this Affair ended, which affords a flagrant Instance, how far the Love or Hatred of a Woman may extend.

The Senate of *Turin*, which resembles the Parliament of *Paris*, had an Affair of Gallantry to be decided at that time. Madam * * * * was married to Mr. *Santus* the Secretary of the Town, who being superannuated, consequently ran the hazard of not having his Wife to himself; though her Amours, and the Number of her Gallants were the common Subject of Conversation, her Husband being very prudent, was contented among many others in the same condition, and as long as matters stood thus, passed it over in Silence. But when his Lady happened to be delivered of a Child, notwithstanding he had not concern'd himself with her for above two Years, he demanded a Divorce, declaring the Child illegitimate. His Wife maintained the contrary, offering to prove, that her Husband had not been so long absent from her. They both publickly appeared before the Judges, where the Husband gave a long Account of his Wife's Intrigues, proving himself a Cuckold very authentickly. This Evidence,

dence, though very clear, not being sufficient, he was obliged to swear that he had lived so long without having any Commerce with his Wife; and having taken his Oath, and excused his Impotency on account of his Age, the Judges granted his Request, and declared the Child illegitimate. Her own Interest, and that of her Relations could not prevent this Sentence; after which she retired to *Milan*, hoping to hide her Shame more effectually in so populous a City.

The three *Brandenbourg* Regiments, I had negotiated for, arrived in *Piemont*, having passed through *Germany* in very severe Weather; his Royal Highness reviewed them, and found them in good Order; after which they had Quarters of Refreshment assigned them, till the beginning of the Campaign, which was to be very early in the Spring.

The two Princes of *Brandenbourg*, Brothers to the Elector, arrived in *Piemont* soon after the Regiments; and as I had the Honour of being acquainted with them at *Berlin*, the Duke deputed me to meet them, with a Compliment from his Royal Highness. They were two handsom young Princes, who wanted neither Judgment nor Wit. Prince *Charles*, the elder of the two, was guilty of some Extravagancies during the time he was at Court, which being chiefly the Effects of Love, were more excusable at his Age. The greatest Folly that Prince committed, was his Marriage with the Countess *de Salmoure*, the Widow of a Captain of Dragoons, an Alliance which made so great a Noise in the World, and occasioned so much Grief to the Elector.

That

An. 1693. That Intrigue has been variously reported, and the *Italians*, I have been told, have even framed it into a Romance, which, without regard to the Truth of History, consists of Adventures invented intirely for the Diversion of the Reader, as is common in Pieces of that sort. I shall therefore relate it in a few Words as it happened, being acquainted with that History from the very Origin.

Prince *Charles* being at that time between twenty-two and twenty-three Years of Age, had not been long at the Court of *Turin*, before he was smitten. At first he loved a Lady who was very beautiful, but wanting the Countess *de Salmoure's* Wit, a Qualification which this Prince preferred to Beauty, at the second Sight of the Widow, he quitted his former Mistress, who had made but a slight Impression upon his Heart. This Lady, tho' not a perfect Beauty, had the most engaging Behaviour imaginable, accompanied with the utmost Sweetness of Temper and Complaisance, which Perfections so captivated the Prince, that he became extravagantly in Love, and spared neither Expence, soft Expressions, or Assiduity, to gain the Heart of his Mistress. What Woman could resist a young Prince, who loved to that Excess, and bestowed his Favours and Presents in so generous a manner? Madam *de Salmoure's* Heart was not long inflexible, and she at last fell in Love with the Prince, or persuaded him she had. Though he was extremely pleased at this Acknowledgement, it was not sufficient to gratify the Extent of his Passion, which made him use his utmost Endeavours to obtain the last Favour. The Countess was so artful, as

to take the Advantage of his Weakness, and *As 1693.* always resisting his Attempts, his Passion became more inflamed by the Difficulties he encountred. At length the Lady perceiving his Love at a proper height, she strongly insinuated to him, that he could not enjoy her without Marriage. This Word threw him into a very serious Mood, he was a Gentleman of strict Honour, and sensible of the Shame that must follow his Marriage with a Person of inferior Rank. But observe the Power of Love! he resolved at length to consent, and gave her his Promise, which she did not depend upon, so far as to grant all he desired, resolving to wait till the Conclusion of the Marriage. The Prince, finding no other way to enjoy her, at last resolved upon it, and chose the *Venerie* for the Performance of the Ceremony, lest it should reach the Ears of his Royal Highness, who would undoubtedly have prevented it.

To this end he proposed a Party of Pleasure at that Place, where only a few Relations of the Countess were to be present, who had been acquainted with the Affair. But the Prince, ashamed of appearing alone among so many People of inferior Distinction, desired a young *German* Prince to accompany him, who, being ignorant of the Design, as soon as he perceived the Marriage of Prince *Charles* in Agitation, prevented the Performance of the Ceremony at that time, by drawing his Sword upon the Priest, whom he would have sacrificed to his Rage, had he not escaped him by flight. The Marriage was by this means deferred to another time, the Prince promising his Friend to relinquish it,
that

An. 1693. that he might keep the whole Affair secret. But this was only a Stratagem, he was too deeply engaged to decline it, and was married by the same Priest a few Days after, at a Chapel a little distant from the Town; and lest his Marriage should be prevented a second time, it was performed by Proxy, the Prince being represented by one of his own Gentlemen at the Ceremony, which he ratified himself in the Evening.

He concealed his Marriage as long as he could; but his Royal Highness being informed of it, to justify himself to the Elector, declared his Ignorance of the Intrigue, promising to dissolve the Contract. The Prince, whose Love was not diminished by Possession, would by no means listen to this, and continued his Esteem for the Countess of *Salmoure* as his Wife, which obliged the Duke to take her from him by force, and confine her in a Convent. She was in Bed with the Prince at this Juncture, who was in the utmost Despair, when he heard the Duke's Orders: He arose and drew his Sword, using all the Strength he was master of in Defence of the Countess. But being deprived of any Assistance, his Servants having deserted him, for fear of the Elector's Displeasure, he was at length obliged to submit to Force. The Lady was directly conveyed to a Nunnery, where she was confined; but the Apprehension of the Prince's Attempt to release her, occasioned a strong Guard to be set upon him to prevent it, and the Duke, as Generalissimo, put him under Arrest, for not submitting to his Orders.

His

His Royal Highness had this Affair so ^{An. 1693.} much at heart, that he was not satisfied with placing a Guard over the Lady, and confining the Lovers within the Walls of *Turin*, but ordered some Detachments to march from *Verceil*, to guard all the Passages, by which he might make his escape.

The Elector of *Brandenbourg* was highly satisfied with the Duke's Conduct in this Affair, and wrote a Letter to return him thanks, wherein he expressed his Concern at the Marriage, and ratified the Dissolution of it by his Royal Highness, forbidding his Brother's Attendants, and the Troops under his Command in that Country, to acknowledge her as Princess.

The Prince, being soon after set at liberty, made several attempts to release her from the Convent; but the Discovery made by his own Domesticks, who had rather please their Sovereign than the Prince, always prevented his Success. He often wrote to her notwithstanding, and saw her sometimes at the Grate, which was a slender Consolation to him, whose Passion was so strong, that he could not endure the Loss of her. At length he was so griev'd, that he went the Year following to the Siege of *Cazal*, in hopes of perishing before the Walls of that Place, exposing himself daily to the greatest Dangers without necessity. Though he voluntarily offered his Life in this manner, he never received the slightest Wound; but his continual Grief, occasioned by the Loss of what he so much loved, threw him into a dangerous Distemper, of which he died before the

An. 1693. **End of the Siege.** This was the End of that unfortunate Prince, who died a Martyr to Love, and by his Will bequeathed all in his Power to his Lady, who was soon released after his Death.

The End of the Fourth Part.



MEMOIRS



MEMOIRS

OF

COUNT BONNEVAL.

PART V.

THIS being the only Year which *An. 1694.* passed, during the War in *Piemont*, without some considerable Event, the military Actions of that Campaign will take us up little Time. The two Armies seemed to enjoy a profound Peace, in the midst of a hot War, and at a time, when all the World was in Expectation of a most bloody Scene in *Italy*. The vast Advantages the *French* had gained in this Country, at the End of the last Campaign, afforded some plausible Reasons to expect it, and seemed to offer an Invitation for some memorable Action in this. In the Winter they threatned the Invasion of all

K 2 *Piemont,*

An 1694. *Piémont*, and the Extension of their Conquests to the *Milaneſe*, making Preparations for that purpose; and his Royal Highneſs ſeemed ſo fully perſuaded of their Intentions, that he had already applied to the Emperor, to know upon what footing his Imperial Maſteſty would receive him, ſhould he be obliged to abandon his own Country.

But the Policy and Cunning of that Prince, which had ſaved his Dominions before, preſerved them again at this Juncture. He had made conſiderable Efforts to repair the Loſſes ſuſtained by the late Battle, and had put his Army into as good a Condition, as at the Beginning of the laſt Campaign; but could not depend upon his Troops, which were ſtill alarm'd at the laſt Deſeat; and the King of *France* having made Preparations to ſend an Army of 50 or 60000 Men into *Piémont*, who threatned nothing leſs than to beſiege *Turin*, it was neceſſary to divert that Storm by Policy, which could not be prevented by Force. While this was in agitation, the Marſhal de *Catinat*, though he had been often deceived by the Court of *Savoy*, ſent his Secretary to the Marquis de *Saint Thomas*, one of the Prime Miniſters of that Court, to offer his Interceſſion with his moſt Chriſtian Maſteſty, and at the ſame time, to deliver him a Project for a ſeparate Peace.

The Prince, pleaſed to ſee his Enemies take a Step, which he would perhaps have taken himſelf, was unwilling to let ſo fair an Opportunity ſlip; the private Envoy was favourably received, and his Propoſals heard with Attention. But as theſe Propoſitions were almoſt the ſame as the preceding, and contained nothing

nothing concerning the Restoration of *Pignerol* and *Cazal*, his Royal Highness being resolved at all Events, neither to conclude a Peace, or make a Truce, without removing those two Thorns from the heart of his Dominions (which almost made him a Slave to *France*) refused to listen to these Offers. He accepted a separate Negotiation however, which was kept so secret, that it remained undiscovered by the foreign Ministers, who took all possible Pains to penetrate into the most secret Intrigues of that Prince. Au. 1694.

This Secretary was the ordinary Courier during that Negotiation, which lasted the whole Winter. The *French* at length agreed to the Article relating to *Cazal*, which they promised to demolish, and to restore all that had been taken from the Duke, but absolutely refused to dispossess themselves of *Pignerol*, which broke off the separate Truce, when it was just upon the point of Conclusion. The Intelligence continued between the two Courts, though the Peace was broke off, and they talked of making a private Truce, while the Armies were in the Field, that the Allies might be the more easily deceiv'd. What is worthy Observation, is, that the Articles of that private Truce were agreed upon, and kept secret from the Army of the Allies, his Royal Highness faithfully observing every Particular by his own Policy and Management, with the Assistance of his Ministers. The Intrigues of this Prince with the Court of *France* (as I said before) may be dated from this time.

By virtue of this Truce, the King of *France* was to withdraw all his Troops from *Piemont*,

An. 1694. except those, who were to possess the Mountains and Passes, under the Command of the Marshal *de Catinat*. The Duke was engaged, on his part, not to march out of the Plain with his Army, to undertake nothing against the *French*, and to subvert all Designs formed by the Generals of the Allies against that Crown. This Treaty was the very Cause they entered so late into the Field, and that nothing was undertaken against the *French*, though they had sent all their Forces into *Catalonia*, *Provence*, and upon the *Rhine*, except a small Number, which guarded the Mountains. Neither the Generals or Ministers of the Allies were to be blamed, they would have improved the Absence and Weakness of the Enemy, by proposing a Siege; but when they offered to besiege *Cazal*, his Royal Highness advised the Siege of *Pignerol*, and when they had consented to this, he found some Excuse to evade that Siege, and proposed another, which miscarried like the former; and as nothing could be undertaken without his own Artillery, and the Assistance of his Troops, they were obliged to act at his pleasure.

Thus the whole Campaign passed, in encamping and decamping about *Pignerol*, and consuming the Forage in that Neighbourhood. Another considerable Body of Troops blocked up *Cazal*, and retook the Castle of *St. George*, which the *French* had possessed themselves of in the Winter. Besides these, we had a Flying Camp in the Valley of *Demont*, which lay as quiet as the grand Army. None but the *Vandois* distinguished themselves this Campaign, who had frequent Skirmishes,
took

took several Convoys of Importance from *An. 1694.* the *French*, and even insulted them in their own Camp, from whence they often brought away their Horses.

The principal Designs of *France*, in drawing her Troops from *Piemon*, were to penetrate into the heart of *Spain*, and compel them to a separate Peace, or at least to have such a footing in that Country, as would secure the Conquest of it, and serve to maintain the Pretensions of the Dauphin to that Crown, upon the Demise of his Catholick Majesty. These Projects succeeded so well, that when the Duke de *Neuilles* had defeated the *Spanish* Army, at the Passage of the River *Ter*, he took possession of *Palamos* in a few days. The taking of *Gironne*, *Ostalrick*, and *Castel-follet* soon followed, and if Admiral *Russel* had not arrived at that time in the Port of *Barcelona*, with the *English* and *Dutch* Fleets under his Command, that Marshal, whom the King of *France* had lately made Viceroy of *Catalonia*, from the general Consternation of the *Spaniards* at that time, would have easily reduced that important Place.

The Fleet, under the Command of the *English* Admiral, not only re-established the Affairs of *Catalonia* for a time, but alarmed the whole Coast of *Provence*, obliging the *French* to keep a Flying Camp near *Rades*, and at other Places liable to be attacked. They provided so well for their Security however, and defended their Fleet in such a manner, which, upon the Arrival of the *English*, was harboured in the Ports of *Toulon* and *Marseilles*, that my Lord *Russel* could not possibly undertake any thing on that side, therefore having

An. 1694 secured the few Towns remaining to the *Catalans*, he wintered in the Ports of *Spain*, deferring the Execution of his Orders to another Opportunity. The rest of the Fleet belonging to the *Allies*, which staid in the Ocean under the Command of my Lord *Berkely*, was not intirely useless; for the Enterprize against *Brest* having miscarried near *Camaret*, by the Fault of General *Talmash*, who, with many others was killed, he bombarded *Diepe*, *Havre de Grace*, *Dunkirk*, *Calais*, and several other Sea-Ports.

The two Armies in *Flanders* were more numerous than ever, each Army exceeding the number of a hundred thousand Men. That of the *French* was commanded by the *Dauphin*, which lay almost as quiet in this Country as that in *Piemont*, nothing remarkable passing, except the taking of *Huy* by the King of *England*.

Affairs upon the *Rhine* were much in the same Posture. We had long heard nothing considerable from that side; and except the two first Campaigns, when *Philipsbourg*, *Bonnè*, *Mayence*, and some other Places were besieged, the two Armies were as unactive during the Remainder of the War, as in time of Peace; but the flat Country is sensible of the Damage done by the *French* to this very Day, notwithstanding the Care taken to repair it, since the Conclusion of the Peace.

The *Genoese*, paying Contribution to the Emperor with regret, shewed some Inclination to the *French*, who, under pretence of easing them of that Burden, had endeavoured to persuade the Republick to declare in their favour; but the Arrival of Admiral *Russel* in the

the *Mediterranean* re-established all on that *An. 1694.* side, and the *Genoese* soon altered their Resolution, apprehending the same Severity from the *English* as they had formerly experienced from the *French Fleet*. There was some Misunderstanding likewise at this time between the Court of *Rome* and the Duke of *Savoy*, occasioned by the Duke's Publication of an Edict, in favour of the *Vaudois*, at the Solicitation of *England* and *Holland*; but that Prince made a jest of his Bulls, and to revenge himself, at the end of the Campaign foraged in several Fiefs belonging to the holy See, which were locked in his own Dominions.

Mr. *de Caprara*, perceiving the Steps taken by his Royal Highness were inconsistent with the Interest of the Allies, began to suspect some secret Intelligence, and desired the Emperor to recal him from *Piemont* in the Spring, which being granted, he was appointed to command in *Hungary*, being succeeded in *Italy* by Prince *Eugene*, who had Count *Palfi* and the Prince *de Commerci* for his General Officers. These two Princes were extremely beloved by the Soldiers, which was owing in a great measure to their Birth, their engaging Behaviour, and an Affability natural to them both.

Thus the Campaign ended, which was entered upon late, and concluded early; and now the Officers began to think of passing the Winter as agreeably as they could, either in the choice of a Mistress, or in frequenting the more publick Diversions.

For my own part, I went to *Vercell*, where I had an Invitation from some particular Friends,

An. 1694. Friends, who had long desired my Company. They received me with abundance of Joy, endeavouring to procure me such Acquaintance as might render my Stay at *Vercell* most agreeable. Madam de *Viancé*, in my Opinion, is one of the most beautiful and most facetious Ladies in the Town. She is Wife to a Captain in the Service of his Royal Highness, and a passionate Admirer of Gallantry; but among the Number of her Lovers, one *Riotor*, a Brigade Major, was chiefly in her Esteem. He was well-shaped, and agreeable in his Person, possessing all the secret, as well as open Qualities of pleasing the Sex. Madam de *Viancé* became extravagantly in Love with him, and acted so publicly in the Intrigue, that she passed the whole Carnaval with him at *Milan*. The Husband knew of it; but being an Officer, and not affected with Jealousy, was under very little concern at what passed in his Absence. This Lady pleased extremely at the Court of the Marquis de *Leganez*, who endeavoured to make himself beloved by her; but she was constant to her Gallant, who, to prevent the secret Sollicitations of the Governor, which she had discovered to him, conducted her back to *Vercell*, where she continued her Intrigue till the Campaign began. These Lovers kept a Correspondence during the whole Campaign, by the most tender Letters to each other; and the Winter being come, the Major endeavoured to renew his Acquaintance with her, but was surprised to meet with so cold a Reception, being treated by his Mistress with all the Indifference of a Stranger. The Major, enraged at this sudden

sudden and unexpected Change, begun to re- An. 1694.
 gret the large Sums of Money she had formerly cost him, and resolved, by exposing her Character, to make the World sensible, that she had not always received him in the same manner. This Proceeding occasioned a Duel, between *Viancé* and a Friend of the Major's, who blamed the Conduct of his Mistress, in the Presence of her Husband, in which the latter received two Wounds, and then *Viancé* was disarmed. The other would have obliged him to beg his Life, which *Viancé* refusing, he generously delivered him his Sword, saying, *There is your Sword, and if you have an Inclination to die, seek some other Executioner than my self; I am contented to die alone.* After he had spoke these Words, he fainted away; but *Viancé* took care to have him carried home, where he recovered of his Wounds, contrary to Expectation.

My Friends, among others, brought me acquainted with the Countess *d'Orgade*. She was a Lady of Wit, well acquainted with the World, and one, who in her younger Years, had refused the Addresses of his Royal Highness. I went sometimes to pass an Hour in her Company, and as it is necessary to use some soft Expressions to the Ladies, to add a Relish to Conversation, she imagined that I loved her. Though it was far from my Inclination, I was pleased however to maintain her in that Opinion, and to laugh at her Credulity, which I had soon after reason to repent. At this time I had expressed a more than ordinary Passion for her, which she readily answered, and, as I was taking my leave, prayed me to return the same Evening, at an Hour

An. 1694. Hour she appointed, under pretence that she had some important Affair to communicate. The time of her Affignation, gave me a Suspicion of her Design, and I confess I should have complied with such Orders, from a Person of a more tender Age; but as she was too far advanced in Years to inspire me with Love, I disappointed her at the time. The Countess was so little discouraged at this, that she sent a Servant to acquaint me that she expected my Company immediately, which, after the Steps she had taken, I could not in good Manners refuse. I was conducted into her Apartment by a Chambermaid, with all imaginable Precautions, where I found the Countess in Bed, who counterfeited a slight Indisposition, which had obliged her to go to Bed sooner than ordinary, and desired me to sit down at her Pillow. I then began to ask, what important Affair she had to communicate; but she answered me only with Sighs and tender Looks. Though I was too well acquainted with this Language, not to comprehend it, yet I seemed so intire a Stranger to it, that she was obliged to make some Advances I dislik'd, declaring her Esteem for me a long time, which she had hitherto concealed, and therefore chose the Night, that the Darknes might hide her Confusion upon such a Discovery. I answered her with all the Respect due to a Person of her Rank; but perceived her Dislike to so profound a Respect, while she betray'd her Inclination by her Actions. As I could not answer it, only by Discourse, she fell into the utmost Despair, that she had made so fruitless an Attempt, and suddenly changed her Language

Language into the most bitter Invectives, that *An. 1694.* Rage and Disappointment could invent. Her Passion afforded me the Opportunity of escaping, pleased with being delivered from the Uneasiness occasioned by her Caresses. I went the next Day to repair the Affront, but she refused to hear me, and ordered her Chambermaid to forbid me the House.

An intimate Acquaintance of mine, to whom I related this Adventure, as the Confident of my Amours, was not so extremely nice, but sought an Opportunity of visiting her, and in a few Days, generously repaired the Affront her Ladyship had received upon my Account. It was soon whispered, that he was Father of the Child she had in her old Age; but her Husband, who was much older than herself, seemed overjoyed to find himself so young, when little had been expected from his Performances for fifteen Years past.

The Marquis de St. George was at this time Governor of *Vercell*, and all its Dependencies; he was married to a very beautiful Lady, yet was seldom without an Intrigue, which produced several Adventures, especially one at this time, of which he had no reason to boast.

He was difficult to please in his Amours; though not so, as to the Rank and Quality of his Mistress, provided she was beautiful. Among others, he became in Love with the Wife of a Coachmaker, lately set up at *Vercell*, who passed for the greatest Beauty of the Town, and her Husband working for the Governor, favoured him with the Opportunity of seeing her sometimes. He was pleased

An. 1694. pleased with her Beauty, and took a proper Season to make his Addresses to her, which were not rejected. This private Amour was generally carried on, in the Place where the Husband kept his Coaches, and the Intrigue continued for some time undiscovered; but whether he was informed of it, or suspected it, he waited one Evening for the Marquis at the Place of Rendezvous, attended by some of his Servants, who fell upon him on a sudden, and beat him severely. As the Governor generally went in Disguise upon such Expeditions, they pretended to be ignorant who he was, and to take him for a Thief. For Privacy's sake, he had no body to accompany him, therefore took to his Heels, and durst not afterward resent the Blows he had received, lest the Adventure should be discovered, which was divulged underhand notwithstanding.

Tho' the Marquis *de St. George* frequently changed his Mistress at *Nerceil*, he was a long time constant to the *Belle Basqui*, a Mistress he had at *Turin*; and though the Commerce between them had lasted a considerable time, the Mother of the Damsel, who was very severe upon the Conduct of her Daughter, was insensible of the Intrigue; or of another she carried on with a Page belonging to his Royal Highness, who participated of her Favours, with the Marquis.

During the last Campaign, while the Army was encamped near *Montcallien*, the Marquis *de St. George* prevailed upon his Mistress to retire to a Country-House belonging to her, not far from the Camp. She framed a
thou-

thousand Excuses to persuade her Mother to *An. 1694.* stay at this House during the Summer, where the Governor and the Page seldom passed one Day without their Rendezvous; which she so artfully managed, that the two Rivals could not possibly meet. These were not *La Bosque's* only Gallants. A *Gasconne* Baron, whose Name I forget, a Captain of Foot in the Army, had been lately in Love with her, and endeavoured to obtain her at *Turin* without Success. At length he discovered her Country Retirement, and the Intrigue she carried on with the Marquis, resolving to take the Advantage of it, and to conquer by Stratagem, what he could not prevail upon by Intreaties.

Being acquainted that the Governor visited his Mistress every Evening, as soon as she was in Bed, he imagined that he might easily introduce himself, by the favour of the Night, a little before the Marquis's Hour, and pass in his Place. He had observed the Night before in what manner he went in, and perceiving that she left her Chamber-Door half open, he went the Night following to execute his Project, and was received into Bed with open Arms, passing at the same time for her old Gallant. The Baron was very silent, till he had obtained the utmost of his Desires, and then discovered himself, declaring his Knowledge of her Amours, and the Stratagem he had contrived to enjoy her. It's easy to judge of her Surprise at this Night's Adventure; but it was now too late to prevent it, and perhaps she was not displeased with being so agreeably deceived. She promised the Baron her good Graces for the future,

An. 1694 ture, provided he kept it secret, and retired immediately, for fear of meeting the Marquis de St. George, who was every Minute expected. The Gascon, satisfied with the Success of his first Visit, unfortunately met with the Marquis, as he was going out of the Room, who was so enraged to find another before him, that he fell upon his Rival with the greatest Fury. The Baron, being equipp'd in the same manner as the Marquis, with only a Nightgown, defended himself as well as he could, and both fell upon the Ground struggling in the Dark. The Servant, who held the Baron's Horse, hearing a Noise, ran to the Assistance of his Master, the Marquis's Servant did the same; but falling upon each other, soon forgot their Masters. Some Peasants and Footmen, who lodged in the Castle, being awaked at the Noise of the Combat, took this trouble upon them, and ran with Forks and Staves, which the Lovers hearing, escaped as fast as they could. The Baron found his Horse where his Servant had fastened him; but the Marquis's being run away, he was obliged in this Habit to go on foot to the Camp, without discovering the Name of his Rival. La Bosqui was artful enough to deceive her Mother and the Peasants, by making this Adventure pass for an Apparition; but the Marquis de St. George was not so credulous, and abandoned his Mistress from that time, who by this means lost a handsom Allowance. She endeavoured to comfort herself with the young Page and the Baron, who, so far from entertaining her like the former, devoured the greatest part of what she had acquired in his Service.

When

When I returned from *Berlin* last Winter, *An. 1694.*
 I met a Monk upon the Road, who voluntarily took the pains of relating the History of his own Life, by which he discovered himself a profest Knave. He had made his Escape from the Convent he belonged to at *Rome*, and going to *Berlin*, had embraced the Protestant Religion, rather as a Libertine, than from a Principle of Conscience, as you will perceive in the end. By this means he raised a little Money from the Consistory of *Brandenbourg*, under the colour of his pretended Conversion, and from thence went to *Hambourg*, where he made the Appearance of a Person of Distinction, and borrowing the Title of a Chevalier, intruded himself into the best Company; and at length made a Figure in Gallantry, by spoiling the Shape of a young Lady of the first Quality. Her Relations were upon the point of offering her to him in Marriage, when a Person, who had seen him at *Berlin*, discovered him to be only a profligate degraded Monk, of mean Fortune and Birth. Upon this Discovery, they resolved to punish him for his Impudence; but being informed of their Design, he made his escape to the *Hague*, where he remained, till he had consumed the Jewels and other Presents he had received from the beautiful *Hambourger*, and then returned into *Italy*, where he was obliged to become a Monk a second time for Subsistence. He was well acquainted with the Religion he had lately embraced, and coming to *Verceil*, with a Design to forsake that Religion, in which he pretended he was born, obtained a Place in the best Convent of the Town. As I was

An. 1694. one Day walking in the Monks Garden, I was surpris'd to see him in company with other Monks; he made me a Sign to take no notice of him; but I was no sooner at home, than he paid me a Visit, and continued the History of his Life, which consisted of various Adventures, with the same Freedom he had began, desiring it might be kept secret.

The new Monks Habit had made no Reformation in the Man; for though he had not been long at *Vercell*, he was already associated with some loose Companions in the Cloister, who had Mistresses in a Nunnery, and I seldom saw him without a relation of fresh Intrigues, which I looked upon as Romances, till he offered to make me an Eye-Witness of what he had advanced, to which I consented out of mere Curiosity. He went with me to the Convent in the Evening, and conducted me into a very neat Apartment, well furnished, the Place where Strangers are generally admitted. Here we found the Cloth laid, and an elegant Supper provided, with some other Monks to bear us company. As soon as Supper was served up, we were favoured with the Presence of as many Nuns, among whom was the Abbess herself, who came in at a private Door behind the Tapestry, and placed themselves at Table. Neither Wit nor Beauty were wanting in this Society, or other Qualifications necessary to raise Mirth. After we had been thus agreeably entertained at Supper, we formed a sort of Consort and Ball, and then retired into the Cloister to view the Cells, and the Apartment of the Abbess. My Guide informed me this Practice

Practice was common, and that he had often *An. 1694.* reaped the Benefit of such Intrigues, but always with that Privacy, as to have them kept secret. We stay'd till Day-break with the Ladies, and then retired, having first assisted the Fathers in scaling the Walls, that they might repair to their Cells; then I returned home, admiring the Artifice of the Monks and Nuns, who under a pretence of Piety, could so dextrously conceal their Gallantry.

Having stayed some time at *Vercell*, I had an Inclination to return to *Milan*, which was not far distant, to inquire of my beautiful *Milaneze*, for whom I had always preserved some Remains of Esteem, and I arriv'd very *à propos* to her Assistance, by easing her of a Yoke her Relations were going to impose upon her. Though she had not heard from me a considerable time, she so far remembered me as to express some Satisfaction when she saw me. I found the same Woman who had formerly served us, ready to introduce me privately into the House, or to deliver my Letters. The Lady told me, the very first Visit I paid her, that she looked upon me as her tutelar Angel, and imagined, that I came upon the Receipt of a Letter she had sent, which by some Accident had miscarried. She inform'd me, that after many Persuasions and Intreaties, her Relations had obliged her to consent to marry *Mr. Bonifave*, a Colonel in the *Italian Service*. He was a very honest Gentleman; but neither agreeable nor young enough to be beloved, by a Lady of her Age; she was however constrained to promise him Marriage, and the Ceremony was to be performed in a few Days. When she had told me with what Reluctance

An. 1694 she had consented, and intreated me so earnestly to free her from the Tyranny exercised over her, by going with her from *Milan*, I could not possibly refuse the Service she required. Therefore, having taken proper Measures to execute this Design, the Night before the Nuptials, I received her on the Backside of the House, and conveyed her in a Chaise to *Trin*, a Village three Leagues from *Cazal*, dependent upon the State of the Duke of *Savoy*.

It is easy to conceive the Surprise, the Father, Mother, and the whole Family were in the next Morning, when they found she was gone. They had always been, not only ignorant of my former Intrigue, but unacquainted with my Person, and therefore could not guess who was the Author of this Contrivance, or where she had retired, tho' they were sensible, her Dislike to the Marriage, was the Reason of her Escape. The Colonel, who had made great Preparations for the Ceremony the next Day, and had invited most of the People of Fashion in the Town to an Entertainment, was in the utmost Concern at this Adventure. He joined with her Relations to discover the Place of her Retreat, which was at length known, and the Father being informed of it, went to make his Complaints to his Royal Highness, who ordered me immediately to *Turin*, with the young Lady. When the Duke had heard the Reasons offered on both Sides, he delivered the Daughter to her Father, upon his absolute Promise, that he would desist from marrying her to Mr. *Bonifane*, and never compel her upon that Subject. The Reason

Reason may be asked, why I did not offer to *An. 1694.* marry a Person, who had openly declared so great an Inclination for me? Indeed, if her Relations, who wanted neither Rank nor Estate, had been of her Sentiment, it might have happened; but as the Father seemed to refuse it, upon some Overtures made to him by the Duke, and that the Daughter had so much Respect for her Father, as not to disoblige him, I thought it proper to desist, and consented to her Return without much Difficulty, upon the Conditions prescribed by the Prince, and such as she herself had accepted.

At my Return to *Turin*, I found Affairs much altered at the Court of Madam Royal; the Maids of Honour had neglected to follow the Example of so pious and devout a Princess; and one, who was with Child, was forbid the Court, common Fame making the Prince of *Hanover* Author of her Disgrace. He was Brother to the present Elector, had the Command of an Imperial Regiment of Cavalry, and was a General-Officer in the Emperor's Troops. This Prince was obliged to fly from his Father's Dominions, being accused of a Design to take the Government from him, in favour of himself; but was betrayed by those who were to assist him in the Expedition. The Duke, who could have seized his Person, and punished him according to the Laws, being unwilling to stain his Hands in his own Blood, permitted him to escape, and put the principal of his Accomplices to Death. He has since intirely pardoned him, and assigned him a Pension, with the Liberty of serving in the Troops of his Imperial Majesty, to whom he recommended him;

An. 1694. but never entered his Dominions till after his Death.

This was a very Gallant Prince, who had the Talent of ingratiating himself with the Ladies when he pleased, and was only apt to carry his Amours too great a Length. I was present when he first came into *Piemont*, and went to pay his Respects to the Dutchess, and particularly observed the Freedom of his Discourse at that time. Her Royal Highness told him, among other things, that hearing he was a Lover of Gallantry, he would have no reason to be weary of the Court, where he might find Women of Prudence and Virtue, worthy of his Company. The Prince answered, *So much the worse, Madam, it is not what I seek; and that Prudence and Virtue which all the World admires in the Sex, is generally what makes me avoid them.* He endeavoured by his Actions, to confirm what he had advanced to the Dutchess, and never met with Virtue among the Ladies he frequented, without offering to corrupt it. This Behaviour gave him some Discredit at Court, and most of the Ladies, who had the least Regard to their Reputation, carefully avoided any particular Engagement with him.

I have said enough of Gallantry, therefore shall pass to the Military Actions of the Campaign, which began sooner than ordinary.

The End of the Fifth Part.



MEMOIRS OF COUNT BONNEVAL.

PART VI.



THE secret Truce concluded be-^{An. 1695.}
tween *France* and *Savoy* expiring
with the Campaign, and the fresh
Offers made to the Prince by that
Crown, to engage him in a sepa-
rate Peace, proving unsuccessful, they began
to think of carrying on the War with Vi-
gour. His Royal Highness having by his Po-
licy diverted the Storm, which threatned
him after the Battle of *Marsailles*, and ob-
serving, that the Enemy had only a small
Number of Forces at hand to prevent his
Designs, thought himself obliged to take the
Advantage of their Weakness, by underta-
king some important Expedition, to re-

An. 1695. establish the Reputation of his Arms in *Italy*. As Experience had made him sensible, that the ill Success of his former Enterprises, was owing to his taking the field too late, he resolved at this time to be beforehand with the Enemy, and strike one Blow, before they could assemble.

To this end, he invested *Cazal* in the Month of *March*, with a considerable Body of Troops, and made all necessary Preparations for opening the Trenches to besiege it in form at the beginning of *April*; but the excessive Snows, which fell on the seventh Day of that Month, and the Severity of the Cold, which lasted some Days, obliged them to leave the Camp. A great Part of the Infantry only, which was cantoned in the neighbouring Villages, assisted by a number of Pioneers, worked upon the Line of Contravallation, marked out by order of the Generals, and was supported by Forts and Redoubts, to block up the Garrison of the Place, till a more favourable Season offered of forming a Siege. The Miscarriage of this Stroke gave the *French* an opportunity of relieving *Cazal*, by detaching a number of Troops from *Germany* and *Catalonia*, which joined to those under the Command of the Marshal de *Carinat*, were sufficient to divert the Design, and put the Forces of his Royal Highness upon the Defensive. But the Troops of that Crown not exceeding the number absolutely necessary in that Country, beside the Necessity the *French* were under of keeping a considerable Body of Men in *Provence* and *Normandy*, to defend the Coast from the Fleet of the Allies, or rather, because a numerous Army

Army in *Piemont* would cost an immense Sum, *An. 1695.*
 at a time when their Treasure was declining,
 they therefore judg'd it most proper, laying
 Force aside, to have recourse to some o-
 ther Method for preventing the Siege. To
 this end, they privately offered his Royal
 Highness a considerable Sum of Money to
 desist from that Enterprize, which being re-
 fused they resolved to make the best Bargain
 they could, by surrendring the Place. This
 Affair was generally negotiated by the Mar-
 shal *de Catinat*, who at length offered to re-
 store *Cazal* demolished to the Duke of *Man-
 tua*. The Duke of *Savoy*, who was sensible
 that the Imperialists would take possession of
 the Place as soon as it was reduced, being
 unwilling to have so powerful a Neighbour,
 readily consented to these Propositions. But,
 as it was necessary a *Decorum* should be ob-
 served, to conceal this Treaty from the Im-
 perial Generals, it was agreed that his Royal
 Highness should besiege the Town in form,
 and that Mr. *de Crenan* should beat the *Cha-
 made*, and deliver up the Place, upon the
 Conditions stipulated with the Marshal, as
 soon as they were lodged upon the Glacis;
 so that the Prince had the Capitulation in his
 Pocket, before the Siege began, and knew,
 almost to a Day, when the Town would be
 surrendered.

The Trenches were opened, on the 27th of
June, before the Town and the Citadel at the
 same time, and our Troops being posted up-
 on the Glacis of the Counterscarp on the 9th
 of *July*, the Governor surrendered the Place,
 according to the Agreement privately con-
 cluded with the Duke. The Imperialists con-
 sented

An. 1695. sented to the Demolition with reluctance; but the *Spaniards* uniting with his Royal Highness, they were obliged to consent to what those two Powers had agreed; which Agreement they embraced the more readily, because the Marquis *de Crenan* was in a condition to hold out a longer time, had he received orders to defend himself. They began therefore to work with the utmost diligence in the Demolition of that important Place, whose Citadel was a Masterpiece of Art, and the finest in *Europe*. The Allies took care to demolish the Out-works, and the *French* demolished the body of the Place.

As soon as the Capitulation was signed, his Royal Highness dispatched me to *Vienna*, with the News of this important Conquest to the Emperor. I delivered the Duke's Letters with a Copy of the Capitulation, which I plainly perceived was disagreeable to his Imperial Majesty. He had conceived this City to be a proper Post for a Place of Arms, to maintain his Rights over several States in that Country, and advantageously situated to take possession of the *Milaneze*, upon the Death of the King of *Spain*; therefore, it was no small Grief to him to see his Hopes frustrated by its being demolished. Some of the Imperial Ministers were ready to express their Sentiments upon this Expedition; but having a particular Interest in the Duke's Affairs, they seemed to submit to those Reasons I offered in Justification of his Conduct, according to the express Orders I had received.

The Attention of the Imperial Court was chiefly turned at this time on the side of *Hungary*,

gary, where it was under great Apprehensions from the *Turkish* Army. The new Sultan commanded in Person, and had already taken possession of *Gyula* and *Titul*; the Elector of *Saxony*, who had the Command of the Imperial Army that Year, not being in a condition to relieve those Places. These Apprehensions appear'd justly founded in the End, for the Troops under the Command of Count *Veterani*, consisting of 9 or 10000 Men, were totally defeated by 20000 *Turks*, after the General himself had first lost his Life in the Battle. Affairs continued in the same Posture upon the *Rhine*, the whole Campaign passing only in Encampments on both sides.

My Stay at *Vienna* was so very short, that it is impossible I should give any particular Account either of the Court or the City: I cannot however omit the Recital of a singular piece of Impudence, which was carried on by a *Piemontese* the Winter before. One of the Bankrupt Counts, a Set of Gentlemen very numerous in that Country, knowing the Duke of *Savoy* was upon the point of sending an Ambassador to the Emperor, set out some Weeks before him, and came to *Vienna* very indifferently equipp'd. As soon as he arrived, he borrowed the Name of a real Ambassador, and having counterfeited Letters of Credence from his Royal Highness, by this Assistance and his artful Discourse, he obtained what Credit he pleased from the Bankers of the City, till his pretended Equipage arrived, which he said he expected in a very short time.

Having thus procured Money sufficient to make a tolerable Figure, he appeared *incognito*

An. 1695. *nitid* at *Vienna*, and fixed a Day for his publick Entry. As soon as the Bankers perceived him in daily Conference with the Ministers of State, and that Preparations were making to give him an honourable Reception, those, who at first lent him Money with Fear, now offered it to him in larger Sums, till he received his Remittances, and by this means, he got Money sufficient to purchase a magnificent Equipage in a short time. The Day of his publick Entry being come, most of the People of Distinction were ready to send their Coaches to appear at his Procession, admiring the Grandeur of his Equipage and Livery. He was conducted to the Audience of the Emperor, with the usual Ceremonies, to whom he delivered his Credential Letters, particularly one from his Royal Highness to his Imperial Majesty, all so perfectly well counterfeited, that they passed undiscovered. As this pretended Ambassador wanted neither Wit nor Assurance, he made an excellent Speech, with which the *German* Gazetteers embellished their News. He was elegantly entertained, according to Custom, and re-conducted with the same Honours: Then having paid his Compliments to the King of the *Romans*, the Empress, and to the other Princes and Ministers, he received their Compliments in his turn, and managed the whole with as much *Decorum*, as if he had been frequently employed upon such Occasions. The Court ordered several Diversions for his Entertainment, and after a magnificent Supper he gave a Ball to the Ladies at his own House; in short he performed the whole without the least Concern, knowing the Merchants were

to defray the Expence. But it was impossi- *An. 1695.*
 ble he should reign long in this manner undiscovered, and therefore had reason to expect a Punishment, proportioned to the Characters of the Powers he had deceived. At length he received private Advice from *Turin*, that the true Ambassador was upon his Journey to *Vienna*, for whose Arrival he thought it improper to wait; but was first willing to enrich himself by Play, without hazarding what Money he had reserved; he therefore play'd upon his *Parole*, till he had lost twenty thousand Crowns, which he promised to pay the next Morning. As this was impossible, when he had borrowed what Money he could, he departed in disguise from *Vienna*, at break of day, taking his rout to *France*, where he was in hopes of being sheltered on account of the War. His Domesticks he left behind him, were surpris'd the next Morning, when they found their Master was gone; but the Bankers much more, by reason of their Loss. After many fruitless Inquiries to find him, every body began to suspect the Deceit, and were fully convinced of it, upon the Arrival of the Duke of *Savoy's* Minister, whose Name he had borrowed. Actions of such a nature seldom go long unpunished. The Imperial Court was extremely exasperated to be duped in such a manner, and not only gave orders to seize him in *Germany*, but even wrote into *France* upon that Subject. If the Court only had been deceived, the *French* who are naturally jocular, would have been satisfied with deriding the *Germans*, without the least Concern at the Cheat; but the Bankers being so great Losers in the Affair, they gave such
 strict

An. 1695. strict Orders upon the Frontiers, to seize this pretended Ambassador, that he was taken and imprisoned at *Strasbourg*, just as he was departing the Imperial Territories, and thought himself safe in the Kingdom of *France*. I left him in Prison when I came from *Vienna*, and am since uncertain what Punishment he suffered, not having heard of that Affair, or even had the Curiosity to inquire into it.

While I was this time at *Vienna*, I had a Relation given me of the Marriage between the Count *de Marilli*, and the Princess of *Rogotskie*, Daughter to the Princess of that Name, who was since contracted to Count *Tekeli*. Her Mother being in *Turky* with her Husband, this young Princess was extremely rich, by enjoying the greatest part of the Estate she had abandoned. These Lovers had long had an Affection for each other, and the Emperor had granted him the liberty to marry her, at a time when she was close Prisoner in a Convent at *Vienna*. But her intended Spouse, having the Misfortune to suffer the *Turks* to take *Belgrade*, while he was Governor of that Place, his Imperial Majesty revoked his Promise. The Lovers, having a different Expectation at the end of the Campaign, were obliged to submit, but the Count, taking the Bishop of *Vienna* to the Grate of the Convent, under pretence of shewing him the Beauty of the Princess, asked him whether he approved of the Choice he had made of so charming a Creature. The Bishop applauded his Choice, and gave them his Benediction with the Sign of the Cross, this the Lovers thought sufficient, and concluding them-

themselves married from that time, the Count *An. 1695.* resolved to take his Mistress from the Convent to consummate the Marriage. He put his Design in Execution the same Evening, and by the Assistance of some Ladders, she scaled the Walls. The Emperor being apprized of it, would have taken her by force from the House of Count *Marfilli*, who being informed of the Design, retired with his Spouse to his Estate in *Hungary*. His Imperial Majesty caused the Marriage to be made void, and ordered the Lovers to be arrested; but they always took care to avoid the Ambushes laid to surprise them; and the Count becoming Master of a large Tract of Land in *Hungary*, by this Marriage, his Friends so far insinuated at Court, the Apprehension of his following the Example of Count *Tekeli*, that his Imperial Majesty resolved to recall him, and confirm the Marriage. The Emperor consented the more willingly, because the Count *de Marfilli* was a Man of Wit, and capable of doing Service by his Negotiations in *Turky*, which Language he spoke perfectly, and was well known in the Country. The Emperor has since successfully employed him in all his Negotiations with the Port, during the last War; and upon the Conclusion of the Peace, he was sent to settle the Limits of the two Empires, which he happily concluded.

The Princess of *Ragotskie*, her Mother, has been no less the Subject of Conversation, than her Husband. It is generally well known, with what Resolution she preserved the Fortrefs of *Mongaz* for Count *Tekeli*, the only Place he had remaining in *Hungary*, notwithstanding

An. 1695. standing it was three Years Blockaded by the Imperial Troops. She exposed herself to the Fire of the Cannon, like the meanest Soldier, and often gave Orders on Horseback, at the most dangerous part of the Attack; and when the Garrison was at length obliged to surrender, for want of Provisions, she was carried Prisoner of War into a Convent at *Vienna*, as she had desired, where she remained some Years. But the Count, her Husband, having the good Fortune to take General *Heusler* Prisoner, sent him back upon his Parole, to solicit the Emperor's Consent to the Exchange of the Princess his Wife, for himself, which his Imperial Majesty refused, till the German General was upon his Return to the Count, as he had promised. *Heusler* restored her to her Husband himself, and when some Compliments had passed between them, he returned, and took upon him the Command of the Imperial Army.

I forget that I am making a Digression, having promised to keep within the Limits of *Italy*, while I am rambling into *Hungary* and *Turky*; which is owing to my Journey to *Vienna*. I left the Town, after I had received his Imperial Majesty's Liberality for my Expences upon the Road, and then returned by the way of *Tirol* into *Piemont*.

I arrived at the Camp of *Cazal*, while they were employ'd in demolishing the Fortifications. The Outworks were soon razed by the Allies; but Mr. *de Crenan*, having Orders to amuse 5 or 6000 Men, that were before the Place, lest they should join the grand Army, went so slowly on with his Work, that my Lord *Galloway*, who commanded the Camp, was

was obliged to threaten that he would force *An. 1695.* the Garrison from the Town, if the Remainder of the Works were not soon demolished; upon which they were shortly dispatched, and the Governor leaving *Cazal* on the 18th of *September*, arrived at *Pignerol* the 25th.

The Ladies, as well as other Inhabitants, extremely regretted the Loss of the *French*, who had been Fifteen Years in possession of the Town; and some of them, even at this Day, cannot mention their Departure without Sighs and Complaints of the Inconstancy of their Lovers, who promised to see them after the Conclusion of the Peace. I could relate an infinite number of Gallant Adventures during the Stay of those Gentlemen in this Place; but apprehending their Number would overswell this Volume, shall leave the Town, and the Flying-Camp, which, after the Demolition of the Works, marched to the Grand Army encamped near *Rivalte*.

The Reduction and Demolition of *Cazal* was all that happened in *Piemont* this Campaign. The *French* Troops not being very numerous, continued in the Mountains, where they were so advantageously posted, that it was difficult to force them from their Camp. We talked however of besieging or bombarding *Pignerol* (which was only Discourse) for as soon as Mr. *de Crenan* was arrived in that Town, we began to think of retiring into Winter-Quarters.

Besides the principal Army, we generally had a Flying-Camp near *Demont*, to guard the Valley by which the *French* had threatened to penetrate, during the Siege of *Cazal*,

An. 1695 to attack *Comi* a second time; but this was not put in Execution.

This Campaign, with that of *Bonne* and *Mayence*, were the only two, in which the Land-Forces of the Allies did any thing considerable. Besides the taking of *Cazal* in *Piemont*, the King of *England* in Person, with the Elector of *Bavaria*, undertook the Siege of *Namur*, which they carried in six Weeks. The Marshal de *Villeroy*, who succeeded the Duke of *Luxembourg*, made an Offer to raise the Siege without undertaking it, which, added to the Stroke he had mist against the Army of Prince *Vaudemont*, gave room to the *French*, who judge of things by the Event, to compose several Satires against him.

Admiral *Berkely* continued to bombard some Sea-ports upon the Coast of *France*, as he had done the Summer before, which occasioned the Bombardment of *Brussels* by the Marshal de *Villeroy*, by way of Reprisal.

Admiral *Ruffel* fell short of what was expected from him in the *Mediterranean*. Having undertaken the Siege of *Palamas*, in conjunction with Mr. de *Castanaga* the Spanish General, the *French* by a Stratagem pretended to come out of *Toulon* with their Fleet, which the *English* Admiral believing, reimbarked the Men he had set on Shore, and sailed to meet Mr. de *Tourville*, who had not stirred from the Port. The *Spaniards*, after the Departure of the Fleet, not being strong enough to continue the Attack, and to oppose the Duke of *Vandome*, who at that time commanded the Army in *Catalonia*, in the room of the Marshal de *Noailles*, raised the Siege almost as soon as it was begun, which

created

created a Misunderstanding between my Lord *Ruffel* and the *Spanish* General. An. 1695.

The principal Design of the King of *England* in sending this Fleet into the *Mediterranean*, was not so much to assist the *Spaniards*, as for his own Glory. He had been acknowledged, and received the Compliments as King, from no other Court in *Italy* but that of *Savoy*, and was treated in this Country, as well as in *France*, only as Prince of *Orange*. But the *Italians* soon changed their Language, upon the Arrival of Admiral *Ruffel* with a numerous Fleet in the *Mediterranean*. The most petit Prince of that Nation immediately sent his Minister to *London*, or the *Hague*, to compliment the new King upon his happy Accession to the Crown. Those, whose Dominions were nearest the Sea, made more haste than the rest, and the Republicks of *Venice* and *Genoa* distinguished themselves upon this Occasion.

This last City had lately lent the King of *France* four Millions at a certain Interest, and the *English* Admiral being informed of it, took the Opportunity, while his Fleet was in sight of the Place, to demand the like Sum in the Name of the King his Master, upon the very same Conditions, which the Senate durst not refuse, lest they should be thought to favour one side more than the other. The Duke of *Savoy* received great part of the Money, for the Payment of the *English* Troops in his Service, and the Pension allowed him by the King of *England*.

Neither the *Genese*, nor any other *Italian* Princes, talked at this time of entering into a League with the Court of *France*, to ease

An. 1695 themselves of the Imperial Troops quartered in their Dominions; even the Pope himself, as great an Enemy as he is to the Protestants, was obliged to receive the *English* Vessels into his Ports, and complimented my Lord *Russell* in his Name, with some Presents more valuable than Relicks, a sort of Curiosities those Gentlemen do not greatly admire.

I had long taken a Resolution to see *Genoa*, and undertook the Voyage as soon as the Campaign was ended; but passing by *Coni*, I met with some Acquaintance, who detained me a few Days. As there was always a good Garrison in this City, few Women, who had a tolerable Share of Beauty, passed without some Gallant Intrigue. Among others was the Countess of *Susane*, who had the Reputation of being the greatest Wit in *Piemont*, and was seldom without her Amours. But amidst the number of her Gallants (which she changed as often as the Troops changed their Quarters) she seemed most constant to the Chevalier *Fichet*. He was Colonel of the Regiment of *Saleuce*, and not inferior to the Countess in Wit, which was the principal Reason of her Constancy to him. This Gentleman's Passion contributed very much to the publick Diversions, during my Stay at this Place, few Days passing without a Consort, Ball, or some other Party of Pleasure, upon account of his Amours. As he composed Verses and sung, we were frequently entertained with some of his Airs. The following is a Song made for that Lady, which I found among my Papers.

With

With Rigour you the strongest Flame oppose, An. 1695.

Which by Oppression but the fiercer grows.

But ah! what does the fiercest Flame avail,

When o'er a flinty Heart it can't prevail.

My Life so long has groan'd with your Disdain,

That Death must put a Period to my Pain.

His lighter Chains to wed, from you I fly,

They're light, indeed, to Woman's Tyranny.

He wrote this in the beginning of his Passion; and though the Countess loved him at first Sight, she was too artful to reveal it on a sudden, being sensible that a Man valued a Heart he had conquered, in proportion to the Difficulty of the Conquest: But as soon as it was convenient, she ventured to declare her Sentiments in his favour, by sending him the following Answer to the same Air.

Should I confess to Thyrsis that I love,

Thyrsis the Woman's Weakness might reprove.

Love loses Strength, when once it is reveal'd,

To make it lasting, Love should be conceal'd.

I went from hence to Mondovi, proceeding on my Journey to Genoa by the Marquisat of Seve, and staid a few Days with the Marquis de Lesagnes, who was at his Castle in this Country, where he has a plentiful Estate. I had been long acquainted with him, and formerly one of his Confidants, when he made Love to his Lady, whom he married while I was in France. This Lady was a perfect Beauty, when I saw her before, but at this time, so disfigured with the Smallpox, that it was impossible to know her, though she

An. 1695. was still very young. Such an Alteration led me to reflect, how little the Sex ought to value themselves, upon so fleeting a thing as Beauty. Her Husband being at Court when she had that Distemper, upon her Recovery she made the following Coupler, which she sent him, with an Account of her Illness.

*The God, who us with Love inspires, is blind,
So only sees the Beauties of the Mind.
By Cupid taught, perform the sightless Part,
My Face o'erlook, use tenderly my Heart,*

This Alteration did not in the least diminish the Esteem Mr. de Lesagne had for his Lady; and though after Marriage, Love generally changes into Friendship, he had no less of it now, than he had before.

The Inhabitants of these Frontiers of *Piedmont*, especially those of *Mondovi*, have given the Duke of *Savoy* abundance of Trouble, and the publick News has often mentioned their Revolt, which in reality is founded upon some Reason. These People formerly composed a free Republick, but being Neighbours to the *Genoese* and *Piemontese*, whose Power increasing, to avoid being conquered, they voluntarily submitted themselves to the Duke of *Savoy*, after he had sworn to preserve their Privileges. Those Princes observed what they had promised a long time, but the last, and more particularly the present Duke, often endeavoured to impose the same Taxes upon them, as upon the rest of his Subjects. At every Attempt of this kind, there was a Civil War, wherein the regular Troops of the Duke sometimes suffered, though

though they were opposed only by the Peasants of the Country. During the late War with *France*, that Prince having a Number of foreign Troops in his Service, imposed upon them what Laws he pleased, while it was not in their Power to resist him: But having the *Piemontese* only to contend with, after the Conclusion of the Peace, they took Arms to free themselves from those Impositions which had been introduced amongst them. It was not without some Difficulty, and the Loss of a great Number of Men, that the *Piemontese* brought them to Subjection in the Year 1698, and put them in a Condition, never to make War for the future; for having put the Ringleaders to Death, they transported those who were found under Arms into the Province of *Vercell*, or some other Places, where they had Land assigned them to cultivate, with a Prohibition, that they should not return into their own Country without a Passport, upon pain of Death.

This People drew such Treatment upon themselves, not only by taking Arms, but, by a Conspiracy they had formed, to deliver the Town and Country of *Mondovi* to the *French*. The Conspiracy was detected, when it was upon the point of Execution, and one *Touky*, with the principal of his Accomplices, lost their Heads.

Having with much Difficulty passed the snowy Mountains, which separate this Republick from the Dominions of the Duke of *Savoy*, I arrived at *Genoa*. It is not without some reason, that the *Italians* call this City, *Genoa the Proud*; for it far surpasses all others in *Italy*, both in Magnificence of Buildings,

An. 1695. and in plenty of Marble. The Streets, except some of the principal, are not much larger than at *Venice*. The Town is situated upon the side of a Mountain, that looks upon the Sea, and makes a sort of Amphitheatre, which is very delightful, as well as those Palaces or Country-Seats, that are built along the Port. They have a peculiar Saying for every City in *Italy*, that belonging to *Genoa* is not much to the Advantage of the Place, for the *Italians*, speaking of the Town and its Situation, say, *There is a Mountain without Wood, a Sea without Fish, Men without Faith, and Women without Modesty.*

This Rule is not without Exception, for Men of Probity and Women of Honour are to be found here, as well as in other Places. They are indeed more inclined to Gallantry, than other *Italian* Women, and having a decent Liberty, it is not difficult for a Stranger, who is well-bred, and frequents the Assemblies, which are generally kept at the principal Houses in the Town, to procure himself a Mistress. These Ladies have a particular Inclination for the *English*, more than those of any other Nation, which is the Effect of their delicate Taste; for, generally speaking, the Gentlemen of that Country have fine Faces, and are well shaped. Something very particular happened to an *English* Gentleman, who was in Love with a *Genoese*, which was the whole Discourse of the Town at that time.

Two Sons of an *English* Nobleman travelling in *Italy* with their Governor, the Younger, being of a more tender Nature than

than the Elder, became in Love with a young *An. 1695.*
 Lady at *Genoa*, of better Birth than Fortune.
 He would freely have consented to marry
 her, had his Income been sufficient to main-
 tain her; but as the eldest Sons in *England*
 inherit the Estates of their Fathers, while
 the youngest are obliged to trade for Sub-
 sistence, he resolved that his Marriage with
 her, should not make her more unhappy
 than she was. The Father of these two
 Gentlemen happening to die at this Junc-
 ture, the Governor, who received the News
 of his Death, concealed it from the elder
 Brother, and having a greater Affection for
 the younger, contrived a Stratagem, that
 he might enjoy the Estate. To this end, he
 proposed his writing a Letter to his Rela-
 tions in *England*, that his elder Brother, hav-
 ing the Misfortune to lose his Senses, at
 the News of his Father's Death, he should
 be obliged to send him to *London* by Sea, or
 secure him in a Madhouse at *Genoa*; and
 that he kept him confined in a Room, till
 he received their Opinion in the Affair.
 The younger, who was naturally honest,
 would not have consented to this Device up-
 on any Consideration, if his Love had not
 been engaged. But finding himself, by such
 a Contrivance, in a Condition to marry the
 beautiful *Genoese*, and to live with Splendor
 in *England*, he complied with the Proposition
 of the Governor, who confirmed, under his
 own Hand, what his Pupil had wrote. The
 Relations, who gave Credit to the News, be-
 ing unwilling an Accident of this nature
 should be made publick, wrote an Answer,
 desiring that he might not be sent to *Eng-
 land*,

An. 1695. land, but continued at *Genoa* in a proper House, ordering an Allowance accordingly. The younger producing the Orders he had received, had no great Difficulty to persuade the Publick of the Truth of his Brother's Madnes, who, speaking *English* only, could not prove the contrary by his Discourse. Assoon as the elder Brother was confined in a proper Place, the Lover concluded the Marriage with his Mistress, whom he carried into his own Country, and took possession of the whole Estate upon his Arrival; and that the Accident which happened to his elder Brother might be kept secret, it was agreed by his Relations, to report that he was dead.

Thus the younger peaceably enjoyed a plentiful Estate for several Years, while the lawful Heir, who had lost his Liberty, vainly attempted to make it appear that he was in his Senses. The Directors of the Mad-Houses, perhaps, plainly perceived it; but as they had a considerable Share of his Allowance remitted from *England*, they seemed not to understand him, and prevented those *Englisshmen* from speaking to him, who frequently came to see the House out of Curiosity, as well as other Travellers. At length he had the good Fortune to speak to a *German*, who understood *English*; and having time to relate his Misfortune, and to acquaint him with his Name, he undertook upon his Arrival in *England*, where he was going, to lay open the whole Scene of Villany to the Court. He kept his Word, and the Court taking Cognizance of the Affair, wrote to the Senate of *Genoa*, who sent the pre-

pretended Madman into *England*. The young *An. 1695.*
 Nobleman was perfectly in his Senses, and
 the Roguery of his Brother and his Governor detected. The last was exemplarily punished, and the elder Brother took possession of his Estate. The younger would have felt the Severity of the Law, had not his Brother generously forgiven him, and solicited his Pardon at Court, which he obtained with much difficulty, by setting forth this Trick, partly as the Effect of his Love, and partly committed at the Instigation of the Governor.

I went to see the City of *Savonna*, a Fortress to which his Royal Highness has great Pretensions, and at my Return, I perceived a Workman of good appearance in the hands of five or six *Sbirri*, who were carrying him to *Genoa*, and asking him, out of Curiosity, what he had done; I am, said he, a poor Journeyman Stone-cutter, who, at a time that I was intent upon my Work, was seized by the holy Inquisition, without knowing the Reason. I cannot conceive that I should be suspected of Heresy, since I can neither write nor read, and am hardly acquainted with my own Religion. They give me no reason why I am arrested, and have allowed me six Months to confess my Crime, and then shall be condemned to Death, if I persist in my Innocence; but if I confess myself guilty of some Heresy on my own accord, they have promised my Sentence may be mitigated. As he thus held his discourse, two Monks who accompanied him, perceiving he address'd himself to me, interrupted him, and made him a sign to be silent, which he

was

An. 1695. was immediately obliged to observe. I relate this Fact, to shew the Happiness of the People in *France* and *Germany*, whose Sovereigns would not receive this cruel Tribunal, which is so little governed by the Laws of Justice.

After I had staid a few Days longer at *Genoa*, and had seen most of the Curiosities in the Town, I returned to *Turin*. I was sensible his Royal Highness would go to *Nôtre Dame de Loretto*, where he had made a Vow, and hastened my Return to accompany him. But upon my Arrival I found he had been gone some Days before, and should have followed, had I not been informed, that he desired but few People to escort him, and had particularly named his Attendants.

In the Absence of the Court, I took the opportunity of paying a visit to Count *Mazin*, who was at his Castle fifteen or twenty Miles from *Turin*. I was particularly acquainted with him, the first time I was in *Piemont*, and he had long desired to renew our Acquaintance. The History of this Gentleman is very well known in that Country. At that time he was much in favour with *Madam Royal*, who was then Regent; the Esteem she had for him in the Beginning, soon exceeded the Bounds of Friendship, and he had not long appeared at Court, before she felt a passion for his Person. But as Sovereigns cannot take the most private Steps, without having the Eyes of the People to discover their Actions, this Princess's Love soon became the subject of publick Discourse. The Prince was too young at this time to find fault with the Conduct of his Mother, but had so much Honour notwithstanding, as to express

press his Dissatisfaction at the Report that *An. 1695.* was spread to the Count, who was affronted at his Discourse, and being resolved upon Revenge, soon found an Opportunity by his Counsel.

Not long after the Death of the Queen of *France*, the King, who was still young enough to marry again, if a proper Alliance should offer, caused a Proposal of Marriage to be made to *Madam Royal*, upon Condition, that she would secure to him the Dominions of her Son. That Princess, who would have rejoiced at the Title of Queen, by an Alliance with the same Blood, from which she was descended, immediately consented to the Proposal, and by the Advice of Count *Mazin*, who intirely governed her, endeavoured to compass her Designs. The Count was glad to meet with an Opportunity of being revenged on the young Prince, and advised her to propose a Marriage between her Son and the *Infanta of Portugal*, who being an only Daughter, that Crown, upon the Demise of her Father, would devolve to the Prince who should marry her. *Madam Royal*, having by this means the Opportunity of being a Queen, and making her Son a King, readily gave her consent, and immediately dispatched an Express to the King of *Portugal*, with this Proposition. He soon came into the measures proposed, and Preparations were making for the Duke's Departure to *Lisbon*, when the *Marquis de Parelle* discovered (by what method I know not) that the Princess his Mother designed to deliver the Dominions of the young Prince to the King of *France*, to whom she was to be married, as soon as the Marriage

An. 1695. riage of her Son with the *Infanta* was consummated. The *Piemontese*, who would gladly have seen their Sovereign King of *Portugal*, without being in subjection to another Prince, made the Disadvantage of this Alliance so plainly appear to his Royal Highness, not only by the Loss of his own Dominions, but from the Probability of the King of *Portugal's* having male Issue, (which afterward happened) that they occasioned the breaking off his intended Voyage, and soon after deprived the Princess Regent of the Administration of Affairs, and placed it in the hands of the Duke and his Council. Thus this double Marriage was intirely defeated, to the great Mortification of the Projectors.

The first thing the Prince did, as soon as he had the Reins of Government in his own hands, was to restrain the Count within his Lands of *Mazin*, who could never since be restored to Favour, notwithstanding the Endeavours he has used. *Madam Royal*, in despair at the Disgrace and Confinement of her Favourite, has never had the same motherly Tenderness for the Duke she had before, and has often been accused of holding private Correspondence with his Enemies, and particularly of being concerned in the Conspiracy of *Mondovi*, which we mentioned before, and of a Design to deliver the Citadel and Town of *Turin* into the Hands of the *French*; but they were never convinced of this, and the Duke, being afraid of coming to Extremities repugnant to the Laws of Nature, chose rather to stifle such Informations, than examine them to the bottom. The Exile of Count *Mazin* has not prevented his
Cor-

Correspondence by Letters with that Princess, *An. 1695.* and he has since made several private Journeys to *Turin* upon her account: But being now married to a very beautiful and rich *Milanese* Lady, and *Madam Royal* having quitted Gallantry with her Youth, the Correspondence has insensibly decayed, and they have only maintained a Friendship for each other, separate from Love.

The End of the Sixth Part.



MEMOIRS



MEMOIRS

OF

COUNT BONNEVAL.

PART VII.

An. 1696.



THE Voyage of the Duke of *Savoy* was not so much a Voyage of Devotion, as Policy. The *French* began their usual Intrigues with that Prince in the Winter, and the Pope's Nuncio, with the Envoy of the Republick of *Venice* seconded that Crown, which made him Offers, so very advantageous, that he at length resolved to accept them. The Danger of being discovered by the Ministers of the Allies was so much to be apprehended, that this Treaty could not be carried on at *Turin*; to avoid which, the Duke, always artful in Diffimulation, removed from that City, at the latter end of the

the Winter, under pretence of visiting *Nôtre Dame de Loretto*, where he declared he had made a Vow. He named all his Attendants, who were such as he had no reason to suspect; and though the Generals of the Allies narrowly watch'd him, to know whether Piety alone was the end of his Journey, he kept every thing so secret, that they could not possibly have the least Knowledge of the separate Treaty of Peace with *France*, which he signed at *Loretto*, by the Interposition of the Agents of *Rome* and *Venice*, and a private Envoy from the Marshal de *Catinat*. An. 1696.

The Conditions of the Treaty are very well known to the World. Beside the Restoration of all that his most Christian Majesty had conquered, belonging to his Royal Highness, he gave him *Pignerol*, with the Citadel demolished, four millions of Livres toward the Expence of the War, and his Promise of the eldest Princess of *Savoy's* Marriage with the Duke of *Burgundy*, as soon as they were at Age to consummate it.

The Conditions of this Peace were too advantageous to be refused by the Duke. He was indeed under Obligations to the Allies both by Word and Honour; but it is well known at this time, that sovereign Princes have no other *Parole*, than Policy and Interest. His Highness is not the only Prince who has followed this Maxim, he has been often directed in this Path by his Ancestors, and without raking the Ashes of the Dead, he saw too many Examples of this Sort before his Eyes, in the Conduct of his Neighbours. Beside this, the Allies neglected to furnish him with the Troops and Money they had

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An. 1696. promis'd, and though the Subsidies of *England* and *Holland* were regularly paid, *Spain* and the rest were deficient. They promised, indeed, that he should have more advantageous Conditions at a general Peace, than had been offered him before; but this was precarious, and he had reason to be under Apprehensions of the King of *France*, who threatned the Conquest of the Remainder of his Dominions with a formidable Army, the next Campaign. But, though this was his only Pretence to the Allies, it was not the principal Motive; for beside the Uncertainty of the Entrance of the *French* Army into *Piemont*, they knew by what had passed, that those Menaces had produced very little Effect.

This Treaty, to which the Pope and the *Venetians* were Guarantees, was soon ratified at the Court of *France*, who found their Account in it, as well as the Duke of *Savoy*; for besides an immense Sum saved, *France* was in a Condition to bring a greater Army into the Field against her Enemies the succeeding Campaign, and compel them to a general Peace, which was justified by the Event, and this separate Peace was the Foundation of the other, which perhaps would not otherwise have been concluded at this Day.

As soon as the Duke returned from *Loretto*, his principal Care was to conceal the Treaty he had made, not only from the Ministers and Generals of the Allies, but from his own. He confided in no body but the Marquis de *St. Thomas*, who alone had carried on the Negotiation, and taken several Journeys to *Pignerol* in disguise, to confer with Mr. de *Tessé*, Governor

Governor of the Place, or Mr. *de Catinat*, An. 1696. who was there *incognito* for that purpose.

A Minister of State can undertake few such Journeys without being discovered, and the frequent Absence of Mr. *de St. Thomas*, gave Suspensions to the Ministers of the Allies. They watched him so narrowly, that at length they knew of his going backward and forward to *Pignerol*, whence they absolutely suspected that the Prince had a good Understanding with the Enemy. However, they concealed their Suspicion, being obliged to manage him with the utmost Caution; but soon after his Return to *Turin*, the King of *England* had Advice (by what means I know not) of the Treaty he had signed at *Loretto*. That Prince gave immediate Notice of it to my Lord *Galloway* his Envoy, who communicated it to the rest of the foreign Ministers, and made no Secret of it to the Duke himself, acquainting him with all that he knew of the Separate Peace, and produced the Conditions. His Royal Highness was extremely surprised to find an Affair detected, he had so carefully endeavoured to conceal, and always denied it, till the *French* were near enough to assist him, and to put it in his Power to alter his Language.

At the end of *May*, the *French* Army consisting of 50000 Men, entered the Plain, and encamped at *Rivarte* on the Second of *June*. The Duke still carried on the Disguise, and threw all his Infantry into Garrison, under pretence of defending the Towns, that he might the more artfully separate them from the Army of the Allies, which was encamped at *Montcallier*, under shelter of the *Po*. They

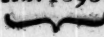
An. 1696. made Lines about the City of *Turin* to prevent a Bombardment, and put the Town in a Posture of Defence, as if they expected a Siege, though they were very sensible of the contrary at Court.

Marshal *de Catinat* being the only General in the *French* Army, who was acquainted with this Treaty, it occasioned some Disputes between that Marshal and the Grand Prior. His Royal Highness, to carry on his Dissimulation the more effectually, detached several Parties of *Germans* every Day, to harass the *French* Army, who generally came off with Advantage. The Grand Prior suffered this with Regret; and having often had the Opportunity of charging these Detachments with Success, and as often desired leave of the Marshal *de Catinat*, was always refused. Exasperated at this Proceeding, and attributing the Conduct of this General to his Timidity, or want of Understanding, he gave Advice of it to the King, in a Letter signed by most of the General Officers. His Majesty smiled at the Advice he had received, and answered him, that Mr. *de Catinat* had acted only by his Orders, and that in a little time, the Event would justify his Conduct. The Grand Prior suspected the meaning of this, and was fully convinced of it on the 12th of *July*, when a Month's Truce was published in the *French* Camp, and at *Turin*. They persuaded the Allies, as much as possible, to accept of it, which they absolutely refused; who behaved themselves notwithstanding, during the Suspension of Arms, which was at different times prolonged to the 15th of *September*, as if they had accepted it, and

and during the whole time, no military Action passed on either side, of the least consideration. *An. 1696.*

The Duke had desired this time, that he might withdraw himself honourably from the Allies. He had taken off the Mask from the Month of *June*, and communicated the Proposals of the Court of *France* to the Ministers of the Allies; and remonstrating the Strength of the *French* Army, and the Weakness of his own, which consisted only of 30000 Men, he declared his Disposition to accept them, palliating the Rupture of the confederate Treaty with a thousand specious Pretences. Not satisfied with this, he wrote to each of the Powers concerned, to ask their Consent; and though he could not obtain it from any one, he made no Scruple authentickly to sign the Treaty a second time, which he had privately concluded in the Winter. The Allies spared no pains to regain him to their Interest, offering more advantageous Proposals than before; and the Count *de Mansfelt*, who was sent Express by the Emperor to his Royal Highness, proposed the Marriage of the King of the *Romans*, with the Princess of *Savoy*, and an Augmentation of his Troops and Subsidies; but all his Eloquence proved useless upon this Occasion. The Prince had chose his Party before, and all they could offer, would not prevail upon him to alter his Opinion.

This unexpected Change was sensibly regretted by Prince *Eugene*, who had the Command of the Imperial Forces, and was of the House of *Savoy*, and the Prince *de Commerci*, who is naturally brave and extremely passion-

An. 1696.  nate, resolved upon a Duel with his Royal Highness. The Duke being nothing inferior to him in Courage, had consented to it, and prepared himself for single Combat, which was with great Difficulty prevented by those of his own Court; this did not, however, prevent those two Princes from renewing their Friendship in the end.

Nevertheless the Count *de Tessé*, Lieutenant-General, and the Marquis *de Basole*, Colonel of the Royal *Piémont* Regiment of Horse, arrived at *Turin* with sumptuous Equipages, as Hostages for the Peace, on the part of *France*; and on the part of his Royal Highness, the Count *de Tana*, Captain of the Lifeguard, and the Marquis *d' Aix*, arrived in the *French* Camp.

As we now lived in open Peace with the *French*, by the Cessation of Arms, and were but few Miles distant from *Quiers*, we often went to pass a Day or two in that City. To obtain the Favour of *Piémontese* Ladies, they must be entertained with a Ball, which we generally had every Evening. Among others, I gave a very expensive one to Mademoiselle *de Balbian*, with whom I was in Love at that time; she was, without dispute, the most beautiful Woman in the Place, and sung perfectly well. A Lieutenant-Colonel, who had been formerly in Garrison at that Town, passed for her Gallant; but, as she sacrificed his Letters, and his whole Conversation to me, I thought my self the only Object of her Wishes. In a short time I discovered that my own Letters met with the same Fate, and were sacrificed to the Baron *de Cravace*, an Imperial Captain. She had
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long imposed upon us all three, in this manner, each thinking himself the happy Favourite at the same time. But being together at a Tavern, we insensibly discovered, that the Lady received us all privately in the same manner. Upon this Discovery, the Baron *de Cravace* shewed us a Letter she had sent him to the Camp, which we found to be the same she had sent to the Lieutenant-Colonel and my self, copied one from the other, and differing only in the Supercription. We compared them together, and congratulated each other upon the Discovery of our Mistresses Inconstancy, and then all three deserted her, with a thousand Reproaches for her manner of acting, which she could by no means justify, after the Letters she had writ in the same Stile.

We turned our Eyes next toward the Convent, where we could easily speak to some beautiful Nuns at the Grate. The Baron *de Cravace* got farther into the good Graces of the Nun he addressed himself to, than either of us, and in five or six Days, she gave him an Opportunity of seeing her in the Garden of the Convent, and once passed two Days with her, the Nun taking care to conceal him, and to furnish him with Provisions. At length we prevailed upon him to quit this Rendezvous, by reason of the Danger in such an Intrigue, from the Jealousy of the Priests in this Country, who make their Fortunes by the Nuns. We narrowly escaped being too sensible of the Effects of their Jealousy.

After we were returned to the Camp, a certain Priest, Gallant to one of the Nuns, observing his Mistress more cold than ordina-

An. 1696 ry, carefully endeavoured to find out the Cause of this Alteration, and was so exact in his Inquiry, that he discovered our Intrigues, and gave notice of them to some others of the Fraternity who most frequented the Convent, all unanimously agreeing to be revenged on us upon our first Return. We were ignorant of this Conspiracy, and returning to *Quiers* to visit our Nuns, had notice by a Letter they took care to send, not to approach the Convent, an Ambuscade of Priests lying in wait to surround us. Nothing less than our Lives being at stake, we followed the Advice, which we found to be true, by a Person privately sent to examine the Cloisters; and as no Honour was to be acquired by engaging with a parcel of jealous Priests, whose Strength consisted in Treachery, we resolved to set out next Day for the Camp, leaving the Fathers to the quiet Enjoyment of their Mistresses.

One of the principal Reasons, which induced his Royal Highness so carefully to conceal the Separate Peace he had concluded with *France*, was his Design of obtaining the rest of the Subsidies due to him from the Allies. He particularly knew, there was a considerable Remittance for him at *Genoa* from *England*, which he first wanted to have in his Possession. But my Lord *Galloway* having notice of it in time, as we observed before, countermanded that Money, and made use of it for the Payment of the Troops under his Command in the *Milanese*, and those of *Brandenbourg* and *Bavaria*, which entred from this time into the Service of his *Britannick Majesty*. It is reported, that some Generals of the

the Allies, were of opinion to seize the Town *An. 1696.* of *Turin*, which they had in possession, and the Perion of the Duke at the same time, to compel him to break with *France*. The Prince had private Notice of it, but took no more Precaution than ordinary; and though he did not view the Camp at *Montcallier* every Day, as he had promised, he passed by the *German* and *Spanish* Guard as he went out of *Turin*, and often visited the Camp upon the Glacis of the Place. This was an Enterprize easy to execute, but difficult to sustain, by reason of the Weakness of their own Army, and the Strength of the *French*, who, with the Assistance of the Inhabitants, could have soon become Masters of *Piemont*, and compelled the Allies to abandon the Country, which perhaps they would afterwards refuse to relinquish; therefore this Advice was rejected by the chief Generals, who seemed unwilling to violate the Right of Princes in so authentick a manner, which would have been of more Detriment to them than Advantage.

The Allies not accepting the Neutrality of *Italy*, which was offered, were obliged to leave a Country, where they were surrounded by Enemies, and march to the Assistance of the *Milanese*, which the *French* Troops, jointly with those of *Savoy*, were to attack according to the Treaty, and oblige the *Spaniards* to consent to the Neutrality by force. The Cavalry marched first, being followed by the Infantry toward the latter end of *August*, and entirely left the Dominions of the Duke in the beginning of *September*. The *French* Army, joined by the Troops of his Royal Highness,

An. 1696. Highness, followed them step by step, and entred the *Milaneze* the 15th of that Month, being the very Day the Truce expired. They were not long without Action, and in four Days began the Siege of *Valencia*.

The Duke of *Savoy* being made *Generalissimo* of the Army, by the King of *France*, commanded the Siege in Person, having the Marshal *de Catinat* under him; so that by an Accident not to be met with in History, the same General commanded the two opposite Armies in one Campaign. Several of this Prince's Predecessors have changed from one Side to the other, but not one had been General of the two Armies at the same Instant. What seems most particular, is, that the Duke gave orders to the Allies at *Turin*, and to the *French* at the same time, who both looked upon him as their General. For when the Allies were encamped between *Chivas* and *Turin*, and the *French* on the other Side of it, Prince *Eugene* sent every Evening to receive Orders, and the Word from his Royal Highness: Marshal *de Catinat* did the like, and the *Aids de Camp* of the two Generals have sometimes met to receive Orders from the same Chief, which proves how far the Policy of that Prince can extend.

The Siege of *Valencia*, was rather a Siege of Policy than an Attack in Form, and though the Duke of *Savoy* was look'd upon as *Generalissimo*, and had all the Honours paid him due to that Character, the Marshal *de Catinat* had private Orders, and only obeyed that Prince, as far as was consistent with the Interest of his Master. The Duke would have pushed on the Attack with Vigour, and soon made

made himself master of the Town, it being *An. 1696.* stipulated by the Treaty, to put his Royal Highness in possession of all those Places that should be taken from the *Spaniards*. But the *French* General, unwilling that a Prince so near a Neighbour to *France*, should become powerful in *Italy*, protracted the Siege as much as possible, that the Allies might have time to accept of the Neutrality, which was the grand View of his most Christian Majesty. The Siege was however vigorously carried on, but the Attack being formed against the strongest Part of the Town, for reasons mentioned before, and the Garrison which consisted of six or seven thousand Men, defending themselves to a Miracle, they advanced very little after the Trenches had been opened a Fortnight, at which time a Courier arrived from the Marquis *de Leganez*, with his Catholick Majesty's Acceptation of the Peace. Thus ended the War in *Italy*, which has been since renewed with greater warmth than ever, occasioned by the Will of the late King of *Spain*. At that time they talked only of Peace and Friendship to each other. The greatest part of the principal Officers went to see the City of *Milan*, and other Curiosities of that Duchy, and those of the Allies visited their Armies, and strove to excel each other in Entertainments. Before I left the *Milaneze*, I had an inclination to see the great City of *Pavia*, and the *Chartreuse* some Miles distant from thence, which I had not the opportunity of seeing in my Travels before. It is one of the principal Curiosities in *Italy*, both for Riches and the Magnificence of its Buildings.

An. 1696. ings. I passed by the Place near *Pavia* where *Francis* the First was defeated and taken Prisoner, and at this day, there is a Chapel to be seen, which was built upon that Spot, and filled with the Bones of those slain in the Battle. From thence I went to *Milan*, to take leave of the Marquis de *Leganez*, and some other *Spanish* Generals, with whom I had the honour of being acquainted. I did not forget my beautiful *Milanese*, so often mentioned before, whom I found married to her Satisfaction, to a Gentleman of better Quality than Estate.

As soon as the Campaign was ended, the Imperial and other foreign Troops had nothing more to think of, than to execute their Agreements, and repass the Mountains, to take winter Quarters in *Germany*, that they might be ready to serve upon the *Rhine* the ensuing Campaign.

The *French* did the same on their side, and *Italy* saw it self delivered from foreign Troops. The *English* and *Dutch* Fleets, under the Command of Vice-Admiral *Rook*, who succeeded Lord *Ruffel*, were sailed into the *English* Channel ever since the Winter, upon Advice that King *James* designed to invade *England*, in which he failed a third time, upon the Discovery of the grand Conspiracy formed by his Agents against the Person of King *William*. The *French* Fleet, in the Absence of the Enemy, took the opportunity of leaving the Ports of *Toulon* and *Marseilles*, and repaired to *Brest*, having happily passed the *Straits*.

Nothing remarkable happened in other Countries this Campaign, in *Flanders* and up-
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on the *Rhine*, in *Catalonia* and upon the Coast, *An. 1696.* there was the same Inaction, as if they had enjoyed a Suspension of Arms, and only encamped and decamped for the more commodious Subsistence of the Army. In *Hungary* it was not altogether the same, the Campaign proving inglorious to the Elector of *Saxony*; who, after raising the Siege of *Temiswar*, lost another Battle, by endeavouring to force the Sultan's Camp: The Republick of *Poland* chose him to be their King the next Year notwithstanding, in the room of the former.

The Princess of *Savoy* departed from *Turin*, attended by the Count *de Tessé*, who was appointed her Master of the Horse. The Duchess accompanied her as far as *Lions*, where she was met by a Party of the King's Household, and his Majesty's Coaches, which carried her to Court. She brought the Peace with her, and was consequently received with the universal Joy and Acclamations of the People. As this Princess was not one of the most beautiful, it was apprehended that she would not have the gift of pleasing the Duke of *Burgundy*; but he told a Person, who asked his Opinion of her, when she first arrived, *that he esteemed the Peace she procured, more than all the Beauty she could have had.*

After I had spent a great part of the Winter at *Turin*, I set out for *Paris*, as soon as I had received my Pardon from Court, which the Marshal *de Catinat* had taken pains to obtain. I took leave of his Royal Highness, who was pleased to make me a present of his Picture enriched with Diamonds, as a Pledge of his Friendship. This Present was considerable, and had been formerly offered to my
Lord

An. 1696. Lord Galloway, upon his Departure from *Piemont*, but refused by that Minister, upon the Posture of Affairs at that time. Assoon as I arrived at *Versailles*, I went to return his Majesty and his Ministers thanks for my Pardon, and was very kindly received. I had discovered my Inclination of entring into the Service of his Majesty, and met with the fairest Promises imaginable; but my Conduct being misrepresented by some Gentlemen at Court, under a pretence of my over-zeal for the Interest of the Duke of *Savoy*, whom I had served *Aid de Camp* Volunteer during the War, and refused to be a Spy for the *French* Ministers at the Court of that Prince, (a Fidelity which ought to have been esteemed) they deferred making Provision for me, after a Promise of the first vacant Regiment of Dragoons, and preferred others in my stead. For this reason I troubled those Gentlemen no more with my Solicitations, or my Friends to give me useles Recommendations. As the Estate I possessed was sufficient for an honourable Subsistence, I retired to regulate my Affairs, which were in Confusion by so long an Absence. Here I passed all the Summer of the Year 1697, and while the World was alarmed with Sieges and Battles, I employed my self in hunting and other Country Diversions.

Anno 1697.

An. 1697. All the military Expeditions of that Campaign consisted of two Sieges, one undertaken by the *French* in *Catalonia*, where the Duke of *Vandome* besieged *Barcelona*, which did not sur-

surrender till two Months after the Trenches ^{An. 1697.} were opened; the other in *Flanders*, where the Marshal de *Villeroy* besieged *Ath*, which sustained only a few Days Attack. Prince *Lewis* of *Baden* took possession likewise of the Castle of *Ebernbourg*, after four or five Days Siege, a Place against which the Prince of *Hesse* had miscarried some Years before.

At length a general Peace, so long expected, and so earnestly desired by the People, was concluded at *Ryswick* near the *Hague*, on the 20th of *September* in the same Year, upon Conditions which are still fresh in the Memory of Mankind. As Ministers are generally blamed for the Faults of State, the *French* seemed dissatisfied with their Plenipotentiaries, Messieurs *Harlay*, *Verjus*, and *Callieres*, who had restored thirty two Cities, each of which could have withstood a Campaign, and without considering they had transacted nothing contrary to Orders, were not received upon their Return, with that Joy the Peace they had concluded seemed to require.

The Marriage of the Duke of *Burgundy* with the Princess of *Savoy* (who impatiently expected the Day appointed for the Ceremony) was concluded at *Versailles* toward the latter end of that Year. This Princess had been more than twelve Months at the Court of *France*, and had already taken the Title of Duchess of *Burgundy*; but being both so young, it was stipulated in the Treaty, that they should wait, till it was the Opinion of the Physicians, who were consulted upon this Occasion, that they were of an Age sufficient to consummate the Ceremony.

I passed

An. 1697. I passed the whole Summer very pleasantly in the Country; but was too much accustomed to the Diversions of Cities, to endure it in the Winter. *Paris* and some other Towns in my Neighbourhood were the Places I chose for that Season, till the Spring came, that I might take a voyage to *England*, as my Friend the *English* Knight had obliged me to promise. The Peace having opened a free Passage into that Kingdom, I set out in a short time from *Paris* for *London*.

I was no sooner arrived, than I went to pay a visit to the Knight upon whose account I had principally undertaken this Voyage, occasioned by the strict Friendship we had contracted in *Italy*. But now I was thoroughly convinced, that nothing is more precarious than Friendship, and particularly with the *English*, who have the Reputation of being the most uncertain People in the World. The Chevalier *Williamson* received me with the greatest Coldness imaginable, notwithstanding the Obligations he was under to me in *Italy*, which he promised always to acknowledge should an Opportunity offer. But when I expected to be received with Transports of Joy and Friendship, I met with all the Indifference that could be used to a Stranger, and was so affronted at the Coldness of his Reception and Discourse, that I resolved to visit him no more. I often met him since in the Streets and at Court, but received only a Salute from him without speaking. As he had no reason to be ashamed of me or my Equipage, which far exceeded his own, I can attribute this Usage only to the Nature of the People, and the slender Inclination

Inclination they have to all Foreigners. Those *An. 1697.* to whom I have related this Story, were so far from being surpris'd, that on the contrary they confirm'd it was customary with the *English*, and related some Adventures of the same Nature, one of which I shall recite to prove the Extent of their Inconstancy.

One *Bastide*, a Gentleman of the *French* Nation, and Captain in the *English* Service, being quartered in a Town, the Name of which I forget, visited a young Lady sometimes who was both beautiful and rich. As to his own part, he was agreeable in his Person, and soon gained the Lady's Esteem. She was Mistress both of her Person and Estate, and therefore could espouse him without Opposition. Her Love daily increasing, she soon came to a Resolution, and *Bastide* being a *Refugee*, without any other Income than his Employ, readily consented to a Marriage, which made his fortune. As the *English* Ladies love with excess of Passion, she was very tender and endearing to her new Spouse at the Beginning. But a Fortnight or three Weeks after the Marriage, *Bastide* being gone to *London*, by the consent of his Wife, upon some particular occasion; during his Absence, which was very short, she had time enough to change her Opinion, and to reflect upon the Inequality of Fortunes in the Alliance she had contracted.

The Captain at his Return went directly home; but was surpris'd to find the Chambermaid refuse him admittance. She went to acquaint her Mistress with the Arrival of her Husband, who, instead of the kind Reception he expected, was ordered to retire, and

An. 1697. threatened by the Servants if he offered the least Violence. The next Day she sent him the Marriage Contract, telling him, that she dissolved all she had done, declared that he might seek another Wife, and that she looked upon him no longer as a Husband. He desired to see and speak to her, thinking to make her relent; but she proved inflexible to all the Remonstrances he could make; therefore his only Remedy was at Law, where, after a tedious and expensive Suit, she was ordered to allow him a hundred Pounds a Year, which was a slender Allowance, compared with her Estate of eight hundred; and then they were separated.

It is dangerous for Foreigners to marry Women in this Country, with whom they are not particularly acquainted. A *German* having a long time made Love to a Girl, who in all appearance was exceeding rich, readily consented to marry her. According to the Laws of *England*, the Husband is absolute Master over the Estate of his Wife; for which Reason, he is obliged to pay all the Debts she has contracted, both before and after Marriage. By virtue of this Law, the Day after the Ceremony, an Officer entered the Room while they were in Bed, and produced a Note of his Wife's, by which she acknowledged to have received Money and Furniture of a Tradesman, the better to carry on her Design. The Officer and his Assistants seized the Furniture, and would have taken her Clothes, had not he engaged for the Payment, and left him the Woman to maintain at his own Expence.

The Men hardly know what Jealousy *An. 1697* is in this Country, which is one of their best Qualities. It is Ill-manners in a Man to interrupt his Wife's Conversation with another, by his Presence, and they generally withdraw, to avoid the Imputation of being jealous, which is a considerable Blemish amongst them; even a virtuous Woman receives a Kiss in the Presence of her Husband, without the least Difficulty. The following is an Instance what little Notice the Husbands take of the Conduct of their Wives.

A certain Knight having been long married to a Lady of considerable Estate, without having a Child, contrived a Method of being Father, which would never have been thought of by a jealous Husband. He had a particular Friend, who, though unmarried, had often given Proofs of his Manhood; to this Friend he proposed the Resignation of his Place at Night, while his Lady was asleep, to try whether he could meet with better Success than himself. His Friend thought him in jest, till he seriously told him the Obligations he should be under, could he furnish him with an Heir, by which means he secured an Estate to himself, that otherwise returned to the Relations of his Lady, at her Decease. Upon these Reasons he gave his Consent, and the Knight promised him, if he succeeded, the Reward of a thousand Pounds. The Day and the time being fixed, the Husband concealed his Friend in a neighbouring Apartment, and rising gently out of Bed, as soon as he perceived his Wife asleep, he introduced the other to his Place, this

An. 1697. was repeated several Nights successively, the Lady being all the time insensible of the least Change, for he kept silent, and soon yielded his Place to the Husband. As soon as he thought the Dose had been sufficiently administered, he thanked the Gallant for his trouble, and perceived with Pleasure, in a short time, that he was more capable than himself, the Lady proving with Child, and was delivered of an Heir according to his Wishes. The Knight kept his word to his Friend, who had done him this Service, and gratified him as he had promised, without repenting of the Stratagem he had used; for in a few Years his Lady died, and he was in quality of Guardian, and Father of the Child, being in full Possession of the Estate she had left.

The City of *London* is not inferior to *Paris*, either in Extent, Beauty, or the Number of Inhabitants. These two Cities have long disputed this last Article. For my own part, I believe the Difference is inconsiderable; and that these two Capitals ought to be reckoned, not only the largest and most populous Cities in *Europe*, but in the whole World. If regard be had to the Buildings, the Streets and Houses are more handsom and uniform than at *Paris*; but in return, *Paris* has a greater number of Hospitals and magnificent Palaces than *London*. The last far exceeds the former in Riches, without Contradiction. I shall say no more of this City, it being so near us, that it is almost universally known to the Inhabitants of this part of the World.

Having

Having staid some Months in *England*, I *An. 1697.*
 returned into *France*, by the way of *Holland*.
 After I had seen the principal Cities, and the
 greatest Curiosities in that Country, I re-
 paired to *Brussels*, and from thence to *Paris*,
 where I arrived before the beginning of the
 Winter.

Except the Expedition of Prince *Conti* in
Poland, which did not prove the most suc-
 cessful, *Europe* was only employed that Year
 in a War against the *Turks*. The Ambassa-
 dors of *England* and *Holland*, whom the *Porte*
 had accepted as Mediators, being at work to-
 ward the Conclusion of a Peace, nothing con-
 siderable passed on that side; and soon after
 the Campaign was ended, a general Peace
 was concluded, between the Sultan on one
 side, and the Emperor, the King of *Poland*,
 and the *Venetians* on the other. The *Musco-*
vites, not satisfied with the Conditions, made
 a Truce for the Space of two Years, which
 was farther prolonged at the expiration of
 that time to a considerable Term of Years.

Anno 1699.

Thus *Europe* saw the War happily extin- *An. 1699.*
 guished on all sides; but this Calm had scarce
 lasted above a Year, before the new King
 of *Poland*, who naturally delights in War,
 first began against the King of *Sweden*, by
 the Siege of *Riga*; an Expedition which
 proved unsuccessful, he being obliged to a-
 bandon it after a Blockade of several Months.

Anno 1700.

Aug. 1700. The King of *Denmark*, his Ally in this War, soon followed him, and after one Campaign against *Holstein* and *Sweden*, which had espoused the Interest of that State, by the Descent of his *Swedish* Majesty, assisted by the *English* and *Dutch* Fleets, he was obliged to conclude a Peace upon disadvantageous Conditions, imposed upon him by those who had concerned themselves in the Quarrel.

The *Czar* of *Muscovy* having entred into a triple Alliance against *Sweden*, with those two Princes, was afraid to declare himself, till the Prolongation of the Truce he negotiated with the *Porte*, was determined, which was no sooner signed, than he entred *Livonia*, as he promised the King of *Poland*, with an Army of above a 100000 Men. He besieged *Nerva*, thinking to make himself Master of it at the first Onset, but the Garrison of the Place making a better Defence than was naturally expected, the young King had time to advance at the Head of his Army, that consisted only of 20000 Men, who attacked the *Muscovites* in their Lines, and obtained one of the most memorable Victories recorded in History, delivering *Nerva* and *Livonia*, at one Stroke, from the Oppression of their Enemies.

But, to speak a Word more of our principal Heroine in Gallantry, the Countess *de Verrue*. After his Highness had several times abandoned her and retaken her, he seemed at last so strongly reingaged, that there

there was no room to doubt his Perseverance: But whether the Prince, after the Peace of *Italy*, had received Advice of her secret-Intrigues with the Officers of the Allies, during the War; or whether her Beauty was decayed; or lastly, whether the Duke's Inconstancy was the Occasion, who in changing his Side, would change his Mistress, the Affection he had for the Countess certainly declined soon after the Peace. As she could not endure to see her Rivals triumph before her Eyes any longer, she resolved out of Revenge to retire into a Convent.

The Countess apprehending that his Royal Highness would prevent her Design if he knew it, departed from *Turin* in the Morning, upon pretence of going to her Country-House, taking nothing with her but her Money and Jewels, except the Picture of the Prince, and those of some other Lovers, whom she could not resolve to forget in her Retirement from the World, and desired the Major of the Place not to shut the Gate too soon, having a Design to return in the Evening. She used this Stratagem, that she might not be overtaken, if she was pursued. This answered her Expectation; and the Major having waited for her in vain till midnight, gave his Royal Highness notice of it, who immediately dispatched a Messenger to her Country-House, where he was informed that she was gone that Morning for *France*. He ordered a Party of his Life-Guard to follow her; but all was in vain; she was met by her Brother upon the Frontiers, who conducted her to a Convent at *Paris*, where the Abbess

An. 1700. was a very near Relation. This is the common Fate of those Ladies, who have the Art of pleasing; they devote their younger Days to Love and Gallantry, and when their Charms begin to diminish, and they are deserted by their Lovers, being no longer in a Condition to relish the Pleasures of Life, the rest of their Years are devoted to Prayers and Repentance.

After my Return from *England*, I passed the whole Winter of the Year 1699, at *Paris*, and in the beginning of the Summer retired a second time into the Country, to regulate my Affairs, which were in some Disorder by my Voyage to *England* and *Holland*, and my stay at *Paris*. I did not quit my Retirement the whole Summer; and there it was that I began to write these Memoirs which I offer to the Publick, as well to avoid being idle, as to recollect the various Passages I had seen in the late War, and the multiplicity of gallant Adventures, which happened to my self and my Acquaintance.

The Motions occasioned by the Death of the King of *Spain*, and the Rumour of War, called me to *Paris*, to solicit once more for an Employment in the Service, if I found an Opportunity to my Satisfaction, which I had reason to hope from my Friends,

The End of the Seventh Part.

MEMOIRS



MEMOIRS

OF

COUNT BONNEVAL.

PART VIII.



HAD not been long at *Ver-* ^{An. 1701.} *failles*, without perceiving that I was only amused with the Promise of a Regiment of Dragoons. There was indeed no Vacancy at that time; and I was informed by a Minister of State, with whom I was intimately acquainted, that all Thoughts of raising any new Regiments were intirely laid aside, and especially Dragoons: I was also sensible, notwithstanding the Civilities I had received from the King and his Ministers, at my return from *Italy*, that I was suspected at Court, upon account of my Fidelity to the Duke of *Savoy* in the last War. This obliged me to depart
privately

An. 1701. privately from *Versailles*, at the beginning of *January*, and as soon as I had settled my Affairs, and was provided with Money, sufficient to undertake the Voyage I intended, I went to his Royal Highness at *Turin*, who received me with the same Civility, he had always shewn me before.

I concealed my Resentment against the Court of *France*, and told him I came to offer my Service, as soon as I received the Information of his Design to act jointly with that Crown in a War against the Emperor. He seemed pleased at my Offer, and in a few days appointed me one of his first *Aids de Camp*, in which quality I had served him before, and excus'd himself for not giving me a more profitable Employment in his Service, as he always required me near his Person. This was my utmost desire; for being well known at the Court, and having served in that Employ, with so much Pleasure before, I had reason to prefer it to any other.

Several People were alarmed at my sudden Departure from *Versailles*, and suspected I was gone to Prince *Eugene*, who was lately appointed *Generalissimo* of his Imperial Majesty's Forces in *Italy*. They apprehended, that I might give this Prince some light into the Affairs transacted at *Versailles*, and therefore gave orders to have me arrested upon the Frontiers of *Germany*, to which Country they supposed I was gone: But, as I left the Kingdom, soon after my Retreat from Court, and went directly to *Turin*, they were disappointed in their Expectation. I was no sooner arrived in that City, than I gave advice of it to my Friends, who were extremely satisf-

satisfied, that I was so near the Person of a *Pr. 1701.*
 Prince, in Alliance with *France*, instead of
 taking the road they had suspected.

The new King of *Spain* departed from *Versailles* for *Madrid*, on the fourth of *Decembre*, accompanied by his Brothers to the Frontiers of his own Dominions, where he was received with all the Marks of Joy and Satisfaction he could expect. The *Milaneze*, perceiving they should be involved in a War, by this Change, seemed a little discontented, and discovered their Inclinations to the House of *Austria* amidst their Acclamations. The Emperor, being willing to take the advantage of their good Dispositions, dispatched the Count de *Castel Barco*, by Nation a *Milaneze*, to engage the Senate, and the Prince de *Vaudemont*, Governor of that State, in his Interest. But neither the Obligations that Prince was under to his Imperial Majesty, whose Son was at this time in his Service, nor even those still greater, that he was under to the King of *England*, who solicited for his Fidelity to the Emperor, were capable to move him. The unexpected Constancy of this Prince kept the Senate and People to their Duty, and all the Designs of the Court of *Vienna* being fruitless, the Imperialists resolved to march into *Italy* with an Army sufficient for the Protection of their Rights.

The *French*, being acquainted with the Designs of the Emperor, dispatched Forces immediately into the *Milaneze*, to oppose the Entrance of the *Germans* into *Italy*. The Infantry was sent by Sea, and the Cavalry marched through *Piemont*, by virtue of the Treaty, where they observed an exact Discipline and *Decorum*.

By

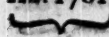
An. 1701.

By this means, I had an opportunity of seeing many of my Acquaintance, and among others, the Chevalier *Gastin*, mentioned before in these Memoirs, who at this time enjoyed the Commission of Lieutenant Colonel of Horse. Though this Gentleman had kept no Correspondence, for several Years, with his former Mistress, the Countess *de * * ** he resolved not to lose so favourable an Opportunity of renewing a Passion, which he thought quite extinguished on both sides. But how easy is a former Passion renewed? The Countess no sooner saw him, than her Love began to revive; and the Chevalier himself had not seen her above twice, without being sensible of the same Impression. Her Charms were not diminished in his Absence, and a Widowhood of three Years had rather added to her Beauty. The Count her Husband, being embarked in the Affair of the Count *de Bins*, who was his particular Friend, died with Grief at the Disgrace of that Minister, and by his Will had left a good Estate to his Lady, who had no Child, which did not a little contribute toward reviving a Flame, in the Heart of the Chevalier, which was extinguished before. He expected the same Familiarity and Favours at first which she had so liberally bestowed upon him ten or twelve Years past; but she was intirely altered in this respect, having attained to that Age, when Women begin to think of Devotion and Repentance. Since therefore he could by no means gratify the Passion he had renewed, to satisfy both his Love and Ambition, he resolved to marry her, and took no more time than was necessary

fary to obtain a Dispensation from the new Pope, which Formality, as a Knight of *Malta*, he was obliged to observe; then renouncing his Knighthood, he was married to her before the opening of the Campaign, still preserving his military Employment. An. 1701.

The *Neapolitans* were as highly dissatisfied, as the *Milaneze*, at the Advancement of the new King, to the Throne of *Spain*; and except the Governors, who were most of them *Spaniards*, none of the People in his *Italian* Dominions were pleased. The haughty Behaviour of that Prince, upon his Arrival at *Madrid*, gave room for Suspicions; he not only banished the Queen Dowager, the Grand Inquisitor, and the Marquis de *Leganex*, who was succeeded by Prince *Vaudemont* after the Peace, but deprived all those he suspected, of their Employments, under the pretence of retrenching the superfluous Expences of the Crown. That this was not his Intention soon appeared; since the Chief of those Employments were given to the *French*, or to such as were absolutely in the Interest of that Crown. The People of Understanding even looked upon the *Spanish* Counsel, as the Echo of that in *France*, from whence they received their Orders; which proves the *Spaniards* as liable to be unsteady in point of Government, as other Nations, who have the Character of being inconstant in that respect; since they changed on a sudden, from the greatest Antipathy between two Nations, to the greatest Sympathy and blind Imitation of all that was insinuated to them by the Court of *France*.

Nevertheless, there being no Powers in a Condition to oppose the Torrent, he was acknowledged

An. 1701.  knowledgeable without the least Obstacle at *Naples*, in *Sicily*, in the *Netherlands*, in the *Indies*, and in all the Dominions in general depending upon that Crown. Those Courts even, who had no Interest in his Advancement, hastened to congratulate him upon his Accession to the Throne, and those, who at first made some Difficulty, soon followed the Current: The Elector of *Brandenbourg* only, who was newly created King of *Prussia*, and some other *German* Princes, attached to the Interest of the Emperor, did not follow the Example. But such is the Policy and Mystery of crowned Heads, that some, who seemed to rejoice with him upon his Accession, were at the same time treating with his Enemies to dethrone him, or at least to deprive him of Part of his Dominions.

The Duke of *Savoy* was one of the first who expressed his Zeal to the new King; but, as that Prince never acts without Design, it was generally concluded that some Mystery was concealed in this Policy, which seemed opposite to his Interest, and was discovered in the End. That Prince never made a Step without some Advantage to himself. If he concluded a separate Peace with *France*, his eldest Daughter had a prospect of being Queen of that flourishing Kingdom. If he joined with *Spain*, his other Daughter was crowned; and what is still most uncommon, he gave no Dowry with either; but obliged those Princes to purchase them with ready-money, filling his Coffers, at the same time with *French* *Livres* and *Spanish* *Pistoles*.

Though the Treaty between *France*, *Spain*, and *Savoy* was fixed, it was neither signed

nor ratified, and much less made publick at a *An. 1701.* Court, where every thing is mysterious: But the Marshal *de Catinat*, Negotiator in ordinary of the Affairs in *Italy*, brought the Ratification from *Versailles* on the Fourth of *March*, with some secret Articles, which the King had added with his own Hand. As the publick Arrival of this General, would have created too great a Suspicion in the People and foreign Ministers, though it was no longer a Secret that his Royal Highness had espoused the Interest of the House of *Bourbon*, the Marshal *de Catinat* arrived Post at Noon-day, with four of his Retinue in Masks, and crossed the City in this manner to the Palace. The Curiosity of the Publick was immediately raised, to know who were the Couriers; and though they endeavoured to make it pass for a Masquerade, they were soon suspected by the foreign Ministers, who knew from what Country they came. The Marshal *de Catinat* sent for me, two Hours after his Arrival, by Mr. *de Cracy*, who was to go from thence to some other Courts in *Italy*. I went instantly, and gave him some Instructions how to act, with regard to the Ministers, that he might accomplish the Conclusion of those Articles, upon which they had not agreed; Difficulties that none but himself could have surmounted in so short a time; for he both preserved the Interest of his Master, and so far satisfied the Duke in two Days, that he signed the Treaty, and the Marshal departed to give an Account of the Success of his Commission.

He did not stay long in *France*, without returning as he promised, not *incognito*, but in
the

An. 1701. the quality of General, and was received with all possible Honours and Civility by his Royal Highness, who went to meet him in his Coach out of the Gates of the City, and ordered him to be conducted, by a Detachment of the Guards, to the Palace of the Count *de Longui*, which was prepared for his Reception. It was observed, that the Duke, among the rest of his obliging Discourse to the Marshal *de Catinat*, often call'd him Father, and said, he would desire his Instructions in the Art of gaining Battles, which he never understood, when he had fought against him. He continued two Days only at the Court, and then embarked upon the *Po* to give Orders to the *French* Forces, which were already arrived in the *Milaneze*. From thence he went to *Mantua*, to gain that Duke to the Interest of *France*, who was already biased by the contrary Party.

He was, at this Capital, disguised in the Habit of a *Franciscan* Monk, according to his usual Custom, that he might the more effectually conceal himself from a Messenger who was then arrived from the Emperor, upon the same Errand. But who could withstand the artful Insinuations and consummate Policy of the Marshal *de Catinat*, which was accompanied with Ready-Money? The Duke of *Mantua* did not long resist the Temptation of thirty thousand Crowns *per Month*; an Offer far more prevailing than all the Arguments of the Imperial Minister. He was obliged, indeed, with this Money, to defray the Expences of the *French* Garrison put into the City; but made a Reserve sufficient to satisfy his own Ambition, and beside that Pension,

Pension, received a considerable Gratuity before-hand. The Duke had proved himself mercenary to the Marshal *de Catinat* in a former Negotiation, upon his Surrender of the City of *Cazal* for two Millions; and therefore had no Reason to fear his Success in this, by taking the same Method. After he had secured the Prince in the Interest of *France*, he would not leave the Court, till four thousand Men of the Troops belonging to that Crown, had entered the City, according to Agreement, under the Command of Mr. *de Crenan*, formerly Governor of *Cazal*, who by that means was more particularly known and more acceptable to the Duke.

The subtle Marshal did not meet with the same Success at *Venice*, as at *Mantua* and *Turin*: He had flattered himself to engage the Senate by his Artifices, not to suffer the German Troops to pass through the Dominions of that Republick. The Promise they had made was not sufficient, there was a Necessity of raising Forces to oppose them, which they absolutely refused. He offered the Republick considerable Sums, on the part of the King his Master, to defray the Expence of the Troops they should raise; but the Senate would not consent, either resolving to keep an exact Neutrality, or being rather prevented by the Imperialists, whom they suffered to pass without Opposition. The Marshal *de Catinat*, sometimes disguised in the Habit of a Monk or noble *Venetian*, sometimes in that of a Merchant or Peasant, made some Attempts at the Courts of *Parma* and *Modena*, where they promised him all he desired, either out of Respect to, or out of

P

Fear

An. 1701. Fear of the new *Spanish* Power, with the Reserve of contradicting themselves, upon the Approach of the Imperialists.

From thence he passed to *Naples*, and into *Sicily*, where he secured the Viceroy's in his Interest, promising, on the part of the Kings of *France* and *Spain*, all necessary Succours in case of a Rebellion, with the utmost Recompence due to their Fidelity. He returned by the way of *Rome*, where he was received by the new Pope with all possible Civility. It is reported that his Holiness, among other things, told him he was pleased to see him humble himself in the Habit of a *Capuchin* (in which Habit he chose to kiss his Slipper) and that his Apostolical Dress seemed as an Earnest of his Zeal for the Interest of the Church, and the *Roman* People. The Pope promised him all he had desired, except the Investiture of *Naples*, which he deferred from time to time upon some frivolous Pretences. At length the Marshal returned to *Milan*, very few being acquainted with his Journey, it being generally believed that he was gone to visit the Passages, by which the *Germans* were expected, who were already upon the march, as he had reported.

The Duke of *Berwick*, natural Son to King *James*, arrived at *Turin* about this time, in his Return from *Rome*, where he had been to congratulate the new Pope upon his Election, on the part of the King his Father. That Duke was received by his Royal Highness with all the Honours due to his Character, and being very agreeable in his Person, and extremely Gallant, he was soon admired by the Ladies. The Marchioness *de Valini*, who came

came from *Genoa* with her Husband, to pass *An. 1701.* the Carnival at *Turin*, was one of his principal Admirers. This Lady was exceeding rich, and the Duke wanting Money at that time, being unwilling to discover his Necessity to the Duke of *Savoy*, thought himself obliged to make use of the Good-will she expressed for his Person. To this end, he deferred his Journey, and was very assiduous, till he had obtained what perhaps she wished for more than himself, and then thought he had right to borrow a considerable Sum of Money of her. He asked her for two thousand Pistoles, the same Sum with which his Holiness had presented him at his Departure from *Rome*, and was hardly sufficient to pay the Debts he had contracted in that City. *Madam de Valini*, though her Husband was very rich, could not possibly raise so large a Sum, neither dared she to refuse him, lest the Duke should discover the Advances she had made, which would have proved fatal to her in the Eyes of a jealous Husband. Finding therefore no other Expedient, she robbed the Marquis of four thousand Pistoles, in Bills of Exchange, and having received their Value from the Bankers of *Turin*, who were ignorant of her Project, she put the Money into the Hands of the Duke of *Berwick*, and followed him the same Day in the Road he had taken to *France*.

The Marquis soon perceived her Escape, and the Theft she had committed, without suspecting that she had followed her Lover, till it was confirmed to him by those who were acquainted with their Intimacy. He immediately gathered as many of his Friends

An. 1701. together as he could, and pursued the Duke and his Lady, whom he overtook at *Suza*. The Duke of *Berwick*, apprehending the Pursuit, was provided with a Number of Servants, and some *English* Gentlemen, who obliged the Marquis to retreat, being first wounded in the Arm by a Pistol Shot, and then conducted his Conquest to *Paris*, where he maintained her as long as the four thousand Pistoles and her Jewels lasted. But whether her Inconstancy, of which he had accused her, or his own Apprehensions of a future Expence was the occasion, he abandoned her at length; and if she had not found an *Asylum* in my Lord *Milfort*, would have been at a loss, though in the Flower of her Age, and in the height of her Beauty. I have since heard that she continued at *Angers* with the Count, where he was banished before the Death of King *James*, for Reasons of State.

Prince *Eugene* assembled his Army at *Reveredo*, near the *Trente*, and the *French* and *Spaniards* at *Rivoli*, on this side the *Adige*, each Army consisting of thirty thousand Men. The Imperialists began their March toward the *Venetian* Territories, at the latter end of *May*, and entered them in the beginning of *June*, having passed the *Adige* near *Legano*, over a Bridge of Boats, built without Opposition from the Enemy, who were divided into Platoons along the River, to dispute their Passage the better. This Event was a good Omen to Prince *Eugene* and his Army; and the Court of *France* was so sensible of the Consequence, that they expressed an immediate Dissatisfaction at the Conduct of the Marshal

Marshal *de Catinat*, by appointing the Duke *An. 1701.*
de Villeroy General of the Army he had under his Command.

The Court of *Turin* was extremely surprised at the sudden and unexpected Entrance of the *Germans* into *Italy*; they flattered themselves, that the Army of the Allies, under the Command of Prince *Vaudemont* and the Marshal *de Catinat*, both expert Generals, would at least have disputed the Passage of the *Adige*, or the Descent of the Mountains and Defiles, through which they were obliged to pass in *Tirol*; therefore they looked upon this first Shock with Grief, which they attributed rather to a Misunderstanding between the *French* and *Spanish* Generals, than to the Incapacity of either.

And indeed these two Generals, who thought themselves capable of commanding an Army, and were certainly so, had not been encamped above a Fortnight, before they became Rivals to each other. They blamed one another upon the Success of Prince *Eugene*; but the Affair of *Carpi* happening in a few Days, it put an end to the Division between them, and determined the King of *France* to send the Marshal *de Villeroy* into *Italy*.

As soon as the Duke of *Savoy* (who would not leave *Turin* till the Marriage of his Daughter with the King of *Spain* was concluded) received Advice of the Approach of the two Armies, he dispatched me to give notice to the Marshal, that his Troops were upon the march to join him, and that he would soon follow in Person. This was only a Pretence; however, I was ordered to be near the Ge-

An. 1701. neral, as an Acquaintance, and to send the Resolutions of Prince *Vaudemont* and the Marshal *de Catinat* twice a Week to the Duke, with an exact Account of all that came to my Knowledge. An Opportunity soon offered by the Battle of *Carpi*, which happened two Days after my Arrival.

Here it was that Prince *Eugene* discovered his Abilities; for knowing that the *French* Army was divided into different Corps, the better to dispute the Passage of some other Rivers beside the *Adige*, he resolved to attack one of those Corps separately, and our principal Post being at *Carpi*, he cast his Eye upon that. All his care was to disguise his March; therefore he pretended to pass the *Po*, and our Troops believing it, threw themselves on that side; he altered his Rout nevertheless on a sudden, and passing the *Tartane* and *White Canal* without Opposition, he attacked Mr. *de Fremont*, who commanded that Corps, which consisted chiefly of Horse and Dragoons. The Count *de Teflé*, who commanded another Corps three Miles distant, marched to his Relief upon the first Advice, with some Squadrons of Dragoons. I immediately followed him, and we were only five or six Persons present, at the beginning of the Attack, our Squadrons not being able to come up in time. His Presence, and the Succours which soon arrived, animated Mr. *de Fremont* and his Squadrons, which began to give way, and we forced those of Prince *Commerci* to do the same, till we were obliged to yield to Prince *Eugene*, who came to his Relief, after we had lost a considerable Number of Men, and particularly the Marquis

quis d'Albret and de Cambout, besides others *An. 1701.* taken Prisoners. Except the first Onset, which began in the Churchyard, at some distance from *Carpi*, the whole Battle was on horseback between the Cavalry and Dragoons. The Succours brought by Mr. de Tessé were of admirable Service to secure our Retreat, and prevented our being pursued.

The Marshal de Catinat being gone from *Carpi* the Evening before this Action, with a large Body of Infantry and all the Cannon, to *Ostiglia* upon the *Po*, where he expected Prince *Eugene* would pass the River, was sensibly mortified at this Affair, and the more, because this Misconduct could not be charged upon the Prince de Vaudemont, who had been gone some Days before to *Milan*, to tender the Oath of Fidelity to the new King of *Spain*, to all the States of that Country.

I took Post the same Evening for *Turin*, that I might give the Duke an exact Account of the Affair. The Count de Tessé and the Marshal de Catinat, whom I saw *en passant*, gave me Letters for that Prince, wherein they related this Action to their own Advantage, and pressed him to join them with his Forces as soon as possible, according to the Treaty. I acquainted his Royal Highness with the Particulars of this Engagement, and the Faults committed by the French Generals, which was soon reported to them by some Friends, or rather Spies, at the Court of *Turin*; and from that time they endeavoured to disgrace me, or to remove me farther from the Person of the Duke, falsely imagining, that I artfully per-

An. 1701. suaded that Prince to retard the joining his Troops, with a view of Revenge, for the ill Usage I had received at *Versailles*.

The Day after my Arrival at *Turin*, the Marquis de *Castel Rodrigue*, Ambassador extraordinary of the King of *Spain*, came to make a formal Demand of the Princess *Louisa* for his Master. The same Day they began to settle the Marriage-Contract, and in eight or ten Days the Difficulties being removed, it was signed on both sides. The Marquis de *Liré* was likewise gone from *Turin*, to carry his Catholick Majesty the Picture of his future Spouse: But that Marriage, which ought to have been perform'd in the King's Name, by the Prince de *Carignan*, was deferred till the beginning of *September*, either because the Duke of *Savoy* was obliged to go to the Army, or upon account of the Mourning for the Death of the Duke of *Orleans*, Father to the Dutchess of *Savoy*.

I made no long stay at *Turin*, being obliged to follow the Prince, who went away on the 24th of *July* with the Marquis de *Castel Rodrigue*, after he had regulated and fixed the Marriage of his Daughter, and left the Administration of the Affairs of the State to his Dutchess; and the Command of the City of *Turin*, with the Garrison, to the Marquis de *Bagnasco*. We lay the same Night at *Milan*, and arrived early the next Morning in the Army, where his Royal Highness was received as Generalissimo. Prince *Eugene*, upon advice of his Arrival, sent a compliment to him with six fine *Turkish* Horses, five of which his Royal Highness refused. Such an extraordinary piece of Civility surprised every

every body at that time; But besides the near *An. 1701.*
 Relation of those Princes, the natural In-
 constancy of the Duke of *Savoy*, gave the
 Emperor Room to expect, that he might
 regain him to his Interest, and perhaps you
 will find in the end, that he was not mis-
 taken.

Prince *Eugene* continued to advance, and
 surmounted all the Obstacles he met at those
 Rivers he was obliged to pass, and where he
 expected the greatest Resistance, he found
 the least Opposition; I mean in passing the
Mincio, a considerable River which forms a
 Lake near *Mantua*. He ordered a Bridge to
 be made over this River, and passed it on
 the 28th of *July*, almost in sight of our
 Army.

This was the third considerable Mistake of
 which our Generals had been guilty; neither
 can I conceive the Reasons why they did not
 encamp along the *Mincio*, to obstruct the Pas-
 sage of the *Germans*, which could have been
 effected with the greatest Facility, and the
 Country of *Mantua* covered at the same time.
 His Royal Highness was sensible of this,
 though not of equal Experience with
Messieurs de Catinat and *de Vaudemont*; but
 as he was perhaps unwilling that the Impe-
 rialists should be driven out of *Italy*, he ap-
 peared under no Concern at the Mistakes
 they had committed.

Prince *Eugene* miscarried at that time in
 an Enterprize against *Mantua*, which was con-
 trived by the Assistance of a Franciscan Monk
 of the Convent of *St. Sebastian*, several Chests
 of Arms being found in the Convent. The
 Prince, being ignorant that his Design was dis-

An. 1701. discovered, advanced with a considerable number of Men within five Miles of the City, under pretence of hearing Mass at *Nôtre Dame des Graces*: But receiving advice that the *French* had reinforced the Garrison with six Battalions, which till then consisted only of four, he perceived his Stratagem defeated, and retired. At his Return he published a Proclamation, and caused Placarts to be fixed up in the Emperor's Name against the Duke of *Mantua*.

His Royal Highness, who delights in extraordinary Actions, at length prevailed upon the Marshal *de Catinat* and the Prince *de Vaudemont* to take this opportunity of attacking the Imperialists, by the assistance of his own Troops and those of *France*. To this end they marched all Night toward the Enemy; but Prince *Eugene* having advice of it, and thinking himself not strong enough to hazard a Battle, before the Arrival of the Succours he expected from *Germany*, decamped in the Night, and disappointed our Design.

Our Generals having failed in this Stroke, thought proper to retire, and guard the rest of the Passages with more care than they had done the former. The *Spaniards*, under the Command of the Duke *de Sesto*, separated from our Army which repassed the *Oglio* near *Concio*; this Retreat giving the Imperialists an opportunity of taking possession of *Castiglione*, *Castel-Gaisre*, and some other garrisoned Places without Resistance.

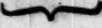
The Duke *de Villeroy*, who had been long expected, at length arrived in the Army on the 22d of *August*. As every thing is perfect Mystery and Grimace among Courtiers, the
 Marshal

Marshal *de Catinat* and this General saw each other with the same Marks and Protestations of Friendship, as they had Hatred and Jealousy against each other in their Hearts. *Villeroy*, who was naturally conceited, and full of his own Merit and Abilities, was pleased to see himself preferred to Mr. *de Catinat*, who had the universal Character of the best Officer in *France*. This Preeminence and pretended Capacity of the Duke *de Villeroy* subsisted only in the King's Mind; few Officers of the Army were in the same Opinion, which they did not endeavour to conceal; the very Soldiers openly declared their Sentiments of their new General by Satyrical Songs, which soon reached the Ears of the Duke. He thought therefore, that the only Method of gaining the Esteem of his Officers and Soldiers, and of the Kingdom in general, would be to perform some extraordinary Action upon his Arrival.

For this purpose, he ordered his Army, consisting of 50000 Men, to pass the *Oglia* in sight of Prince *Eugene*, whose Army, amounting only to 35 or 40 thousand, was afraid to stir from an advantageous Camp to oppose his Passage. The Prince was satisfied with the Possession of *Chiari*, which secured a Communication with the Lake of *Guardia* and *Tirol*, and used all possible Precaution, not to be confined to his Camp, as the Duke *de Villeroy* had threatned, in order to attack him with the utmost Advantage. This Project was well enough concerted, though strenuously opposed by the Marshal *de Catinat*; but being approved of by the Duke of *Savoy*, who had the Title of *Generalissimo* without the

An. 1701. the Power (which was in the hands of the Duke *de Villeroy*) the Army marched toward *Gbiari*, thinking to take that Post at the first Onset, before the Imperialists could be in a Condition to relieve it. Prince *Eugene* had provided against this; and though the Troops posted in different Places, were not so numerous as those which attacked them, they were considerably favoured by the advantageous Situation of the Place. Seventeen of our Battalions, *French* and *Irish*, vigorously attacked the Cassines, the Moulin, and other Intrenchments on the first of *September*, and carried all before them in the Beginning; but Prince *Eugene* having ordered five or six of his best Battalions to advance, retook, with the same ease, what we had taken before, and then attacking our Troops on the Right and Left, put them to flight with the Loss of 15 or 1600 Men: But the Night interposing, and this Shock having damped the Courage of the Soldiers, our Generals thought it most proper to return to the Camp; which they did without being pursued.

If the Duke of *Savoy*, who is as brave as possible in his Person, ever performed heroick Actions, it was upon this Occasion. He exposed himself in the midst of the Fire, and led the Battalions on to the Foot of the Intrenchments, his Horse was wounded in the Neck, and his Coat and Wastecoat torn by a Musket shot. The Count *d'Esteire* and the Marquis *de Dreux*, Son-in-law to Mr. *de Chamillard*, were wounded, Mr. *de la Chassagne* Brigadier, the Colonels *de Bondi* and *de Chantelus*, and Mr. *Roussel* Officer of the Artillery, were killed, and the greatest part of the Officers

ficers of the Brigades of *Anjou* and *Normandy*, *An. 1701.*
 were killed or taken Prisoners. 

Although this was not a general Action, the Imperialists were highly puffed up by it, having by this means preserved their Communication, and gained a favourable Opportunity of trying the Bravery of their Troops against ours. The Duke of *Savoy*, according to Custom, appeared little concerned; it was not his particular Affair, neither were his Troops present at the Attack. The Prince *de Vaudemont* seemed intirely attentive upon the Affairs of the Country, and concerned himself little with the Army, since the Arrival of the Marshal *de Villeroy*. The Marshal *de Catinat* excused himself in this Action, under pretence they had not followed his Advice; so that the whole Mismanagement reflected upon the new General, who was not a little mortified at his ill Success. Mr. *de Catinat* his Rival rejoiced at it, and discovered his Joy in a Letter he wrote to a Friend at *Paris*, which accidentally came to the Hands of His Royal Highness, who ordered me to convey it artfully to the Duke *de Villeroy*. I obeyed his Order the same Evening, when I carried the Word from his Royal Highness, who gave it every Night, by slipping the Letter into his Coat Pocket unperceived. The General found the Letter, and knowing the Marshal *de Catinat's* Hand, was convinced from whence it came. He shewed it to the Prince the next Day, who being pleased with the Misunderstanding between them, said what he thought proper to amuse him. The Duke *de Villeroy*, who is naturally reserved, did not discover his Thoughts,

An. 1701. Thoughts, but was not less to be fear'd upon that account. The King of *France*, unwilling to be judged incapable of choosing his Generals, excused *Villeroy*, and wrote a Letter to him upon the late Action, wherein he commended his Conduct, attributing his ill Success to the Fortune of War. The Duke's Acquaintance were serviceable to him upon this occasion, and a certain Friend of his who is well received at Court, largely contributed towards preserving him in his Majesty's Favour.

A few Days after we received the News of the Princess *Louisa's* Departure for *Spain*, being conducted by the Marquis *Castel de Rodrigue*. The Day before her Departure the Prince *de Carignan* her great Uncle, who had the full Power, married her in the Name of the King of *Spain*. The *Spanish* Ambassador had made a most magnificent Entry into *Turin* some Days before; the Duke, and my self especially, wished to have been present at that time, but the Affair of *Chiari*, and the Nearness of the Enemy, who threatned to bring us to a general Action, as soon as their Succours arrived, prevented that Prince and his Court from taking leave of the Princess. This Princess embarked at *Nice* on board the *French* and *Spanish* Gallies, and going ashore at *Toulon* continued her Journey to *Spain* by Land, where the Marriage was consummated,

The Duke's Envoy arrived at that time in the Army, as he came from *Vienna*, from whence he was ordered to depart, as soon as the Emperor had received advice that his Royal Highness had taken upon him the

Com-

Command of the *French* and *Spanish* Armies. *An. 1701.*
 His Departure was soon succeeded by a Mandate of the Emperor's against that Prince, much in the same Stile as that against the Duke of *Mantua*; but this little affected him, it being always in his Power to appease his Imperial Majesty when he pleased.

At this time we received News of the Death of King *James* at *St. Germain's*, on the 16th of *September*, and of the Prince of *Wales* being acknowledged King of *England* by his most Christian Majesty, which immediately drew that Kingdom against him. We had News also of the young King of *Sweden's* Conquests, who had intirely defeated the *Saxons*, and drove them out of *Livonia*: We were farther informed of the Departure of a considerable *English* and *Dutch* Fleet for the *West-Indies*, under the Command of Admiral *Benbow*.

Our Army still continued encamped within four Miles of the Imperialists, who remained at *Chiari*, without undertaking any extraordinary Enterprize. The Prince de *Vaudemont*, returning from *Milan*, was suddenly attacked by five hundred Imperial Horse; but his Escort being more numerous, and animated by his Presence, soon put the *Germans* to flight. Mr. de *Chamerault* also defeated four hundred Horse commanded by Mr. de *Vaubonne*, and Mr. de *Tessé* burnt a considerable Magazine of Corn belonging to the *Germans*. These are all the Advantages we obtained during the Campaign; but our Escorts, Foragers, and Parties, were frequently defeated or taken Prisoners by the Enemy. Prince *Eugene* was so much better served by Spies than

An. 1701. than our selves, that we very seldom had notice when his Parties went out, and were always ignorant of his Designs, while he received an exact Information of ours, and always knew where to attack us with Advantage; which made it undoubted, that some of our own Army gave him Intelligence. Our Generals resolved upon a strict Search, and put many under arrest every Day upon Suspicion. I had the misfortune to be of that number, but without the least Reason or Justice, and all I could discover was, that a Letter, wrote in Characters from our Army to Prince *Eugene*, had been intercepted, of which I was supposed to be Author, designing by this means to blemish my Reputation. The Duke of *Savoy* either believed me guilty, or was willing to give the *French* Generals this Satisfaction, who were glad to seek revenge for some ill Offices I had done them, and consented to their Request of having me arrested.

An Exempt, attended by some Guards, paid me this Compliment, as I was retiring to my Tent in the Evening. I immediately desired to speak to the Duke, which was refused me, and had only time to follow the Exempt to the King's Quarters, where I was confined. He came in a moment to acquaint me, that his Orders were to carry me to the Castle of *Milan* the next Day, that I might regulate my Affairs accordingly. I had permission to take my Clothes, with what Money and Jewels I had in my Chest; but my Papers were all seized, except these Memoirs, and some other Manuscripts which they imagined were printed, by reason of the

the Binding. I wrote several Letters to my *An. 1701*
 Friends in the Camp, and among others, slipt
 one into my Valet de Chamber's Hand for
 Prince Eugene, which I here give you ver-
 batim.

I *AM* this moment arrested, upon suspicion of
 keeping a Correspondence with your Highness,
 who is intirely sensible of the Falsity of this Ac-
 cusation. My Justification would meet with no
 difficulty, if I was not concerned with those
 Judges, who, for private Reasons, are prepos-
 sessed against me. As I dread the Bastille, I
 should be under the greatest Obligations to your
 Highness, if you would be pleased to deliver me
 from my present Confinement. This may be ea-
 sily effected by a Party of one hundred Horse on-
 ly, as I am escorted to-morrow Morning to Mi-
 lan. If Mr. de Vaubonne, who was always
 my particular Friend, is informed of it, he will
 take the Opportunity of attacking my Escort to
 Advantage; therefore it is of the greatest Impor-
 tance to me, that your Highness communicate it
 to him. I hope you will have no reason to re-
 pent of doing this Service to a Person, who can
 give you some Informations in many Affairs, and
 will always acknowledge it as a singular Favour,
 which shall be added to those I have already re-
 ceived.

My Valet de Chambre stole immediately
 from the Camp, and delivered my Letter to
 the Imperial General, adding himself what
 he thought proper to accomplish my Design.
 His Highness, in expectation of some Advice
 from me, relating to the French Army, readi-
 ly consented, and immediately dispatched an

Q

Exempt

An. 1701. Exempt to Mr. *de Vaubonne* with my Letter. The General mounted his Horse directly, with 300 Dragoons, and taking my Servant with him, went and posted himself upon the Road at break of Day.

My Escort set out with me accordingly the next Morning, and pursued the same Road; but instead of being escorted by 100 Horse, I was allowed 250. Mr. *de Vaubonne* was not surpris'd at this, and as soon as his Scouts perceived us, divided his Troops into three Corps, and while one was concealed behind the Hedges, he advanced with that under his own Command, which was supported by the third. We perceived them at some distance, and our Troops had time to form themselves into a large Square, in the Centre of which I was placed. Some Officers were of opinion to return with me to the Camp; but the commanding Officer perceiving the Troop of 100 Horse which advanced, so much inferior to his own Number of Men, pursued his Journey with Resolution, and Mr. *de Vaubonne* pretending to fear him, opened to give him passage. This was all our Commander desired, and was satisfied to proceed without attacking the *Germans*; they did the same on their side, upon which I imagined, that Mr. *de Vaubonne* had taken his measures according to the Escort I had indiscreetly mentioned in my Letter, and was not powerful enough to attempt my Release. I was confirmed in this opinion when they suffered us to pass so quietly, and despaired of my Liberty, till my Valet de Chambre made me a Sign with his Hat to take courage. At the same time, the Squadron which

which supported Mr. *de Vaubonne* advanced *An. 1701.* and attacked us briskly, while he attacked us himself on each side. My Escort, believing they should meet with more Squadrons upon the Road, turned about to return to the Camp in good order, but had not marched far, before they were attacked by the other Corps of Dragoons; so that perceiving Enemies before and behind, and on each side, every Man saved himself as well as he could, by endeavouring to reach the Camp. The Captain who commanded my Escort was taken Prisoner, and two Lieutenants were killed, with near 150 Horse taken Prisoners, killed, or wounded; and I had the Satisfaction of enjoying my Liberty. Though my Joy was a little moderated by a Wound I received in my left Thigh, which bled abundantly, I did not neglect paying all Acknowledgments due to my Deliverer. As this Gentleman is no less polished and judicious, than brave and enterprising, he expressed himself in the most obliging manner; and being provided with a good Surgeon to his Troops, the Bleeding was soon stopped, and my Wound entirely healed in less than a Fortnight. Prince *Eugene's* Care did not a little contribute to my speedy Recovery, who, pleased with the Success, ordered me to be carried to his own Quarters, where I wanted for nothing.

My first Care was to justify myself to the Duke of *Savoy*, and then to the Marshals *de Villeroy* and *de Catinat*, whom I acquainted by Letter that I was not ignorant of the Authors of this Design against me. In short, having no farther measures to keep, and

An. 1701. Prince *Eugene* having acted so generously in my behalf, I openly declared what I knew of the *French* General's Designs, and of the Duke of *Savoy*'s Intentions, whom I hoped it would not be difficult to regain.

The Day this Adventure happened, Prince *Eugene* received the News of the Revolt of *Naples*, and of the ill Success with which it was attended, partly by being too precipitate, and partly by the Fidelity of the Duke de *Medina Celi* to the new King of *Spain*, who tarnished the Glory of it, by the Cruelties exercised against the Authors of the Insurrection. The *Neapolitans* have been since quiet, but wait only a favourable Opportunity of declaring for the Emperor. The Informations I had given Prince *Eugene*, were too material, not to be communicated to the Imperial Court; and no body being so proper to undertake it as my self, I set out for *Vienna* soon after my Recovery. His Imperial Majesty received me with all the Marks of Affection natural to a Prince of his Sweetness of Temper, and when I had delivered my Letters from his General, obliged me to relate the manner of my Confinement, and the Particulars of the Action which set me at liberty. Then I had a private Audience in his Cloiet for two Hours, where I repeated what I had advanced to Prince *Eugene*, which for several Reasons ought not to be made publick. I acquainted his Imperial Majesty at the same time, with the Impossibility of receiving my former Income from *France*, who had so great a regard to it, as to assign me the same Pension allowed the *Neapolitan* Lords, who daily arrived from that Kingdom, to avoid the
Fury

Fury of the Viceroy, who continued his *An. 1701.*
Cruelties without Distinction.

During my short stay at *Vienna*, the Imperial Court was deeply employed in concluding the Triple Alliance with *England* and *Holland*, in which Treaty Mr. *de Goes* Ambassador at the *Hague* was principally concerned. The Affair also of the Elector of *Cologne* and *Bavaria* his Brother, gave no little Uneasiness to this Court. The former, either out of Ingratitude, Discontent, or Interest, had entirely embraced the *French* Party, and notwithstanding the advantageous Offers, as well as Threats of the Emperor, had received *French* Troops into his Towns, refusing to admit those of the Empire. His Brother, by reason of the Situation of his Country, had not so openly discovered himself, but raised a powerful Army, declaring he designed to stand neuter, and being, comparatively speaking, near the Gates of *Vienna*, the Court was alarmed at his extraordinary Preparations. The Duke of *Wolfenbuttle* had also raised Troops with *French* Money, and Mr. *Dufon* who commanded them, threatened nothing less than a powerful Diversion. Besides the Preparations made by these Princes, what they most endeavoured to remedy, and which seemed to be of the greatest Importance, was the Triple Alliance lately concluded between the Kings of *France*, *Spain*, and *Portugal*. Mr. *de Walestein*, Ambassador at this last Court, upon whose Conduct and Experience they very much depended, gave some Hopes of repairing the Affairs on that side, with the Assistance of the *English* and *Dutch* Ministers, and even proposed a Mar-
riage

An. 1701. riage to that end, between the Emperor's eldest Daughter and the *Infanta* of *Portugal*.

But the principal Attention of his Imperial Majesty and his Ministers was to support his Undertaking in *Italy*, which till this time had taken a prosperous turn. To this end, they were employed in making considerable Levies, to supply the Place of those Troops daily drawn from *Hungary* for the *Milaneze*. They had agreed with the King of *Denmark* besides, for six thousand Men that were in *Saxony*, and actually upon the march to join the Army of Prince *Eugene*. The greatest Difficulty was to procure Money sufficient to defray the Expences of the Troops: *Germany* does not abound in Riches, and that Article would have embarrassed the Imperial Ministry, if Remittances for the Army had not been sent to *Venice* from *England* and *Holland*; for without the Credit of those two Nations, such considerable Sums could not have been drawn for by the Commissaries of his Imperial Majesty.

Prince *Ragotsky*, who was taken and accused as chief in the Conspiracy, discovered in *Hungary* some Months before, made his Escape at this time, by bribing the Captain that guarded him, who was afterward taken and punished with Death, the Prince happily escaping, although there was a Price set upon his Head. The Project of that Conspiracy was as cruel as can be imagined, since it extended to the Massacre of the Emperor and his whole Family. Publick Report had made the Marquis *de Villars*, Ambassador of *France* concerned in it; but the Emperor him-

himself took care to justify this Minister, being fully convinced that some *Hungarians* only were the Authors of the Conspiracy. An 1701.

The Order given for the Envoy of his Royal Highness to depart the Empire, was soon followed with the Arrest of the Duke de *Moles*, Ambassador of *Spain*, by way of Reprisal for the Baron de *Frassinet* and some others, who being looked upon as Agents or Ministers of his Imperial Majesty, were arrested by the Viceroy of *Naples*, notwithstanding their Character, under pretence of fomenting the late Insurrection. The Emperor, at the Intercession of some *Neapolitan* Lords, would have sent a Detachment from *Italy* into that Kingdom, to have compleated the Project; but it was thought improper to divide the Army, upon Advice that the *French* were sending a considerable Reinforcement into the *Milaneze* by *Final*.

I staid at *Vienna* till my Affairs were dispatched, then returned to Prince *Eugene*, who was still encamped at *Chiari*, and the *French* were as constant to their Camp at *Rudiano*, which was but a League distant. Both Armies were unwilling to decamp first, to avoid giving the Advantage to the other of attacking the Rear, which rendred these two Encampments very severe. The Season was advanced a Month beyond the ordinary bounds of a Campaign; and the Soldiers suffered extremely by the Rains and bad Roads. These Difficulties did not prevent Prince *Eugene* from harassing his Enemies by frequent Parties; one of the most considerable, and most particular, was a Detachment desired by the young Prince de *Kaudemont*, with a Design

AN. 1701. to bring his Father away, and his whole Regiment. He had received Intelligence, that the *Spanish* Cavalry was cantoned within shot of the *French* Camp, and knew the Quarters the Prince de *Vaudemont* his Father had chosen for his own Regiment, and some other Troops. He marched directly to the Place, by favour of the Night, and surprised the General, who had only time to save himself on Horseback in his Night-Gown, and would certainly have been brought Prisoner by his Son, if the Darkness had not favoured his Escape. His Men who were found in that Quarter were more unfortunate, being all brought away with their Equipages, and some neighbouring Troops which hastened to their Assistance were defeated. The Governor of the *Milaneze* was so grieved at the Affront offer'd him by his Son, that he swore he would never pardon him, and soon left the Army to return to *Milan*.

The two Armies having long waited in this manner, the *French*, who are naturally uneasy, grew impatient, and decamped privately in the Night. Although Prince *Eugene* imagined they could not have decamped without his Knowledge, he received Advice of it too late, and they had passed the *Oglio* before we could reach to their Camp, so that all the two Armies could do, was to fire at each other cross the River. Here the Marshal de *Catinat* was slightly wounded, by offering to see whether we designed to make a Bridge, and pass the *Oglio* to attack him.

The *French* Army retired to winter in *Cremona*, a Province dependent on the *Milaneze*, and the *Spaniards* to some other Places
in

in that State, that they might be in Readiness to join them. Prince *Eugene* being strongly pressed by the *Venetians* to leave the Country belonging to that Republick, as he had no Enemy to oppose, could frame no farther Excuse for his stay, and therefore marched toward the *Mantuan*, with a Design to winter in that Dutchy, and to restrain the City of *Mantua*. The Marshal *de Villeroy* foreseeing his Design, took possession of all the Posts of Defence in the Country, in which he committed a manifest Error. A Person, the least experienced in the Art of War, knows that he ought not to leave a Garrison of four or five hundred Men in Places of weak Defence, especially when he is not in a Condition to relieve it. Mr. *de Catinat* opposed the Design, which was sufficient for the Marshal *de Villeroy* to put it in Execution, who had afterward reason to repent it; for, upon the Arrival of the *Germans*, *Caneto*, *Vesiana*, and all the garrison'd Places of the *Mantuan* in general, were obliged to submit to Prince *Eugene*, almost without firing a Shot. *Mirandola* still remained with a Garrison of four or five hundred Men, under the Command of Mr. *de la Citiardie*; but upon the Approach of the Imperial Army, the Peasants obliged the Garrison to capitulate, and the Prince became Master of the whole Country, except the Capital and *Goito*. In these two Places were eight or ten thousand Men, under the Command of the Count *Tesse*. The numerous Garrison, the badness of the Season, and the Situation of the Town, which is surrounded by a Lake, would not permit us to attack it,

An. 1701.

An. 1701. it, and much less to block it up by a Line, because of the extraordinary Circumvolution required, but it was closely restrained by the Imperial Quarters in the Neighbourhood. This did not, however, prevent the Garrison from receiving Provisions on the side of *Verona*, where we had only a small number of Troops.

The Duke of *Savoy* had retired into *Piemont* with his Forces, before the Separation of the Army, and left them to the Command of Messieurs *de Villeroy* and *de Catinat*. As soon as the Duke heard of my Return from *Vienna*, he wrote to me, desiring that I would leave Prince *Eugene*; and acquainted me that he was obliged to consent to my Arrest, in regard to some People of consideration, intimating they were the *French* Generals. I shewed his Letters immediately to Prince *Eugene*, who offered me a Passport, if I was willing to return to his Royal Highness; but that Prince having done me so signal a piece of Service, in my Delivery from those Hands I was unwilling to fall into a second time, I thought it improper to return: I imagined, moreover, that while the Duke of *Savoy* was in the Interest of *France*, I should be continually uneasy at his Court.

The Quarters Prince *Eugene* had taken in the *Mantuan*, being neither commodious nor extensive enough to winter so large an Army, he endeavoured to extend them into *Parma* and *Modena*. I was sent for that purpose to the Duke of *Modena*, to demand *Berzelto* in the Name of the Emperor. This Town is situated upon the *Po*, at the Mouth of the *Leuzza*,

Leuxa, and was to serve us for a Barrier; it *An. 1701.* is tolerably well fortified, and afforded an Opportunity of extending our selves over the whole Country when we pleased. The Duke made great Complaints, and protested against it at first; but finding he could not avoid it, desired ten Days to consider: I allowed him only four Hours, and telling him that the Troops were at the Gates of *Berzello*, he changed his Language, and, like a true *Italian* seemed to consent with Pleasure, giving me an Order to the Commander of the Place, wherein he enjoined him to receive me into the Town, with the Troops I should bring. I took possession of it with two Battalions, and Prince *Eugene* came the same Day to take a view of the Place; then we took possession of some other advantageous Posts in the Dependencies of that City.

Colonel *Locatelli*, who was sent at the same time to the Duke of *Parma*, met with different Success. That Prince not only declared himself a Vassal of the Pope's, but could soon receive Assistance from the *French*, upon the least Violence that should be offered him. Therefore, not thinking it proper to take the Quarters he had demanded, by Force, we fortified our selves in the *Modena* and the *Mantuan*.

Notwithstanding the Advantages reaped by the *Germans* this Campaign, they had not gained one Inch of Ground in the *Milaneze*: The Marshal *de Villeroy* was contented with this, and thought he had acted sufficiently, by preventing their Entrance into that State. Prince *Eugene* seeing himself so near *Cremona*, with Regret, not daring to enter it, and yet willing

An. 1701. willing to take some Place of Importance, or to perform some Action of Renown, before the *French* were joined by nine thousand Men, embarked at *Final*, conceived a most glorious Enterprize, which was to secure the whole Province of *Cremona*, by surprising the City. The Design was grand, and difficult to execute; a long March was to be made without being discovered, and cross an Enemy's Country, to surprise a Marshal of *France*, and other Generals, in a Place well fortified, where the Garrison consisted of eight thousand Men. But what cannot an expert General perform? The Prudence of this Prince surmounted all these Difficulties without the least Opposition. He sent several Officers and Soldiers in Peasants Habits, to examine the Place: I was one of the first who went, attended by a Burgher of the Town as a Guide, to view a Passage, which I found proper for the Introduction of our Troops into the City, and very ill guarded; it is indeed surprising, that so open a Place should be left unguarded in time of War, without so much as a Centinel. I staid the whole Night with the Burgher, and visited the Passage, which was no better secured by Night than by Day, and then returned to make my Report to the Prince.

The first of *February*, the Day appointed for the Expedition, after a grand Council of War, we advanced to the very Town by the favour of the Night, which I entred through the Passage we had seen before with the Grenadiers and my Guide. After we had passed a Ditch full of Water, which was to secure the Garrison from being surpris'd, we assembled at the foot of the Rampart, without

out being perceived, till we attacked the *An. 1701.*
 Guard of the Gate with Sword in hand. The
 Gate was soon opened, and the Draw-bridge
 let down; and before a general Alarm, or the
 Enemy was in a Condition to attack us, our
 Cavalry commanded by Prince *de Commerci*
 began to enter the Town. We had not
 time to take possession of the Gate of the
Po, soon enough to facilitate the Entrance of
 the Prince *de Vaudemont*, who arrived too
 late. But perhaps I shall trespass upon my
 Readers Patience with the Relation of an Enter-
 prise, which is so fresh in the Memory of
 Mankind. It is therefore sufficient to tell you,
 that the Marshal *de Villeroy* and the Marquis
de Crenan were taken Prisoners in this Action,
 and the last died of his Wounds soon after.
 We left the Place in twelve Hours, and
 brought away near a hundred Officers, and
 above three hundred Soldiers, Horse and Foot,
 with a great number of Horses. Altho' this
 Affair was well concerted and well conducted,
 all the Honour would have fallen to the *French*
 by their vigorous Resistance, and Readiness
 to fortify themselves in different Places, if
 they had not been surprised, and suffered their
 two Generals and so many Officers to be car-
 ried away. The Affair however miscarried,
 when we had the most reason to hope for
 Success, being obliged to abandon our Con-
 quest after so short an Enjoyment.

Prince *Eugene* was much affected at the ill
 Success of this Enterprise, but comforted in
 some measure, by the Loss of the *French*,
 which amounted to near two thousand Men;
 our own Loss was computed to be four or
 five hundred, several of whom were taken
 Pri-

An. 1701. Prisoners. I saw the Duke de *Villeroy* next Day in the Prince's Quarters, who endeavoured to comfort him in the most obliging manner. As to my own part, the Duke instead of the Reproaches I expected, paid me all imaginable Civility, and desired of the Prince, that I might accompany him part of the Way to *Inspruck* for *Germany*, where he was immediately sent, left his Troops, who were in Despair at the Loss of their General, should attempt to release him. The Officers and Soldiers followed the same Road, though not at the same time. I accompanied the Marshal to the Frontiers of *Tirol*, where he was received by a Detachment from *Trente*, and then returned to the Camp with my Escort. In the Conversation between us, he endeavoured to persuade me that I was to blame, for attempting my Deliverance in the manner I had done, my Confinement being occasioned by some false Reports concerning my Fidelity, and promoted by my particular Friends, that I might have an Opportunity of speaking in my own Justification. I believed what I pleased of his Compliments, and answered them as I ought.

The King of *France*, always ready to support his Creatures, pardoned this Fault of the Marshals, as he had done those he had committed before; and lest it should be unknown, publicly declared it at Court, and wrote him a Letter of Condolence much to his Advantage. But all this would not comfort him; there still appeared a certain Heaviness and Sorrow, which touched his very Soul, notwithstanding his affected air of Content and Satisfaction.

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The Imperialists having in a few days taken *An. 1701.* possession of several Castles and Quarters indifferently fortified, belonging to the *French* upon the *Oglio*, they resolved to abandon all their Posts upon that River, and withdraw their Troops to *Cremona* and other Places better fortified, till they received the Succours from *France* upon which they so much depended. They had occasion indeed for those Troops at this time, having lost half the Army they had brought into the Field, either by Sicknes, Desertion, or by the Enemy, while the *Germans*, who are naturally more robust, and used to *Hungary*, were almost in as good a Condition as when they arrived.

The Imperial Court had a particular regard to these Preparations of the *French*, and used their utmost Efforts to procure Troops sufficient to counterbalance those, the new King of *Spain* was to command, in Person, the succeeding Campaign. This had been long designed at *Madrid*, and Preparations made at *Naples* for his Reception. He was landed at that Capital to shew himself to the People, and when he had secured their Affections by his Presence, was to pass with a Body of Troops into the *Milaneze*, and place himself at the Head of the Army. The King of *Spain* was not the only General of Importance, who was to act in this Campaign. For the King of the *Romans* was to command the Army upon the *Rhine* in Person, the King of *England* in *Flanders*, the Kings of *Sweden* and *Poland* each commanded their own, and we were assured that the King of *France* would command his Army upon the *Rhine*: Therefore the Campaign could not pass without

An. 1701. out having the Eyes of all *Europe* upon its Events. Besides this, a War in *Germany* was inevitable; *England*, *Holland*, and the Empire being powerfully armed against *France*, who endeavoured to oppose them on all sides.

A few days after the Expedition of *Cremona*, perceiving it would be some time before the Season would permit any considerable Undertaking, I went to *Venice* with some Officers of Distinction, who under pretence of buying a few Necessaries for the Campaign, design'd to pass the Remainder of the Carnival in this City, to make some amends for the Hardships of the Campaign, which had lasted Summer and Winter. It was one of the most melancholy Carnivals which had been known at *Venice* for a long time, few Strangers being in the Town upon account of the Neighbourhood of the Armies, and the Senate being employed in Affairs of State, to secure a Neutrality, which might empower them, to turn the Balance on which Side they pleased.

The Duke of *Mantua*, who could not suffer a Carnival to pass without going to spend the greatest part of his Revenue at *Venice*, and who maintained, according to Custom, a number of Courtisans in that City, a Vice he had so far indulged, that he could not forsake it, regretted his Absence from his *Seraglio*. This Prince maintained a Correspondence by Letters with these Ladies, which were often intercepted, but the Vicinity of the Armies, and a sort of Blockade which confined him to *Mantua*, had deprived him of his Pleasures. However, he removed all Obstacles at length, and having received a considerable

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Remittance from *France*, for admitting *French* An. 1701. Troops into his Capital, he resolv'd to consume it at *Venice*. Part of the Carnival was already pass'd before he could execute his Design; but at length he found Means to go in the Habit of a Monk, which is a common Disguise in *Italy*. The Courtesans rejoiced at his Arrival, to whom he was a kind of Protector. Though he was at *Venice incognito*, and daily changed his Disguise, every body was acquainted with his coming, and his Adventures became the publick Discourse, among which was the following.

The Duke being charmed with the Beauty of a Baker's Daughter, thought to have corrupted her immediately with his *French* Louisd'ores, which he had in abundance; but meeting with a Repulse at first, he resolv'd to discover himself, and offer'd her fifty thousand Livres, to give him an Assignment. This Present might possibly have prevailed from any other Prince than himself; but the Duke having the Misfortune to be thought afflicted with a gallant Disease, and the Dishonour of acting with so much Indiscretion, she absolutely refused him. These unexpected Difficulties, after so advantageous an Offer, animated his Desire to that degree, that he resolv'd to obtain her by Stratagem.

He was sensible that People of an inferior Rank sooner yield to those of their own Condition, than to Persons of Distinction; and therefore disguised himself in the Habit of a Peasant, with a Basket of Eggs in one Hand, and Butter in the other, and offer'd his Goods to sale at her House. The Bargain being made, he refused taking her Money, if she

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would

An. 1701. would grant him his desire. The Girl, who had perhaps as great an Inclination as himself, and thinking she had met with a Countryman to whom she was a Stranger, refused him in such a manner as discovered her willingness to consent. The Father and Mother being at Church, afforded a favourable Opportunity, and desiring him to walk in, granted that for a few Pounds of Butter, and some Dozens of Eggs, for which she had refused fifty thousand Livres before. As soon as he had no longer occasion for disguise, he changed his Habit and discovered himself to the Girl, thanking her for saving him fifty thousand Livres, and soon spread the Adventure throughout the City.

At the beginning of *Lent* we departed from *Venice*, and repaired to our Quarters, which we found much altered, by the various Motions made by the Prince in our absence to pass the *Oglio*, and to possess himself of several Posts in *Cremona*, that he might the better oppose the Duke de *Vandome*, who was created General in the room of the Marshal de *Villeroy*. We had lately received News, that the Court of *France* had resolved to send forty thousand fresh Forces to *Italy*, part of which were already arrived, so that the Allies proposed to have an Army of sixty thousand Men in that Country, at the opening of the Campaign. It was not the great Numbers of the Enemy that broke the measures of Prince *Eugene*, who generally had the Advantage, notwithstanding their majority; but the certain Advice he had received of the Voyage of *Philip* the Fifth into *Italy* gave him the greatest concern, the King of *France* having

having publicly declared it on the 23d of *An. 1701.*
January.

The News of *Philip's* Voyage into *Italy* extremely perplex'd the Court of *Vienna*, which was dissatisfied at the Pope's Conduct. They had Reasons to suspect the Court of *Rome* had a good Understanding with the Kings of *France* and *Spain*, and that the Voyage of this Prince into *Italy*, served only as a Pretence to determine the Affair of the Investiture of the Kingdom of *Naples*, in favour of those two Crowns, the Pope having already given so many Proofs of his Partiality. Prince *Eugene* received an extraordinary Courier from the Emperor, with Dispatches, which brought Instructions for the Conduct of Count *de Lamberg*, the Imperial Ambassador at *Rome*, should the King of *Spain* go into *Italy*. Prince *Eugene* immediately sent for me, and told me that he had received very important Dispatches from *Vienna*, which were to be delivered into the hand of Count *Lamberg* at *Rome*, and that he had fixed upon me for that Voyage, wherein I might serve both himself and the Emperor, who would take care to reward me. I thanked his Highness for the Confidence with which he was pleased to honour me, and having received my necessary Instructions, took Post for *Rome*, and delivered my Packet to Count *Lamberg*, who, after a little Conference upon the subject of the Dispatches, acquainted me that the Affair of the Marquis *del Vasto* had so far embroiled him with the Court of *Rome*, that he met with vast Difficulties in the Reconciliation.

An. 1701. The whole City of *Rome* was divided into two Factions at this time. The Cardinal *de Janson* and the Duke *d'Uceda*, Ambassadors of the united Crowns, appeared at the head of the *French* Party; the Count *de Lamberg*, the Marquis *del Vasto*, the Prince *Caserta*, and several other *Neapolitan* Lords, at the head of the Emperor's, so that nothing but Murmurs and Invectives were heard on both sides. The Pope was so perplexed, in the midst of a number of factious People, whose only Desires were to kindle a Civil War in *Rome*, that he was under a Dilemma what Measures to take at this Juncture. The shortest Expedient his Holiness's Wisdom suggested, was to increase the Number of his Guards, and to order the Sbirri and Soldiers to patrol constantly in the City. Notwithstanding these Precautions, I was obliged to draw my Sword against a *French* Gentleman of Cardinal *Jansons* Party. This Gentleman, who went by the Name of the Chevalier *de Grigni*, accosted me before the Imperial Ambassador's Palace, and after several Compliments upon Affairs indifferent, our Conversation began upon the general Topick of the times, and particularly upon the Affair of the Marquis *del Vasto*. As I was intimately acquainted with the Marquis at *Rome*, having often seen him at Count *Lamberg's*, under whose Protection he remained, I was concerned at his Disgrace. The Chevalier *de Grigni*, who perhaps wished I would explain my Sentiments upon that Head, began immediately to say, that Rebellion was always punished sooner or later, and that the Marquis *del Vasto* would one Day find what the just Indignation

tion of two powerful Kings was capable of *An. 1701.*
 doing against a rebellious Subject. I was so
 exasperated at the Boldness of his Discourse,
 at the very Gate of a Minister whose Interest
 I espoused, that I wanted Patience to restrain
 me from running that Moment to Extremi-
 ties; neither could I endure that a Stranger
 should have the Rashness, Assurance, and
 Arrogance, to insult the Honour of the Mar-
 quis *del Vasto*, for whom I had the greatest
 Esteem due to a Person of his Rank. I an-
 swered him, That although the Marquis was
 so unfortunate as to pass for a Rebel in the
 Opinion of those Flatterers, who paid Ho-
 mage to the extravagant Ambition of the
 King of *France*; that the Nobility of *Na-*
ples, who had embraced the Party of a Fo-
 reign Prince, to the prejudice of the Arch-
 Duke's Rights, who was their lawful and he-
 reditary Sovereign, would have reason to re-
 pent of their rash Rebellion, and that a Name
 so odious was more justly due to them, than
 to the Marquis *del Vasto*; that his Innocence,
 and the Justness of his Cause, of which God
 had already declared himself the Protector,
 by the Progress of the Emperor's Arms in
Italy, would make him triumph over his Ene-
 mies; that his Imperial Majesty and his Al-
 lies were powerful enough to protect him
 from the Attempt of a Set of Wretches
 who conspired against his Life; and lastly,
 that it was both an odious and infamous Ac-
 tion, that Cardinal *Janson*, a Person devoted
 to the Church, Ambassador from his most
 Christian Majesty, and the Duke *d'Uceda* Mi-
 nister to a Catholick King, should be the

An. 1701. Authors of the Conspiracy discovered against the Person of that Lord. And at length I added, that he ought to remember he had insulted an Ambassador from his Imperial Majesty, before his own Palace; that it was an Affront to the Respect due to his Character; and that the Rashness of his Conduct, being contrary to the Privilege enjoyed in *Rome* by the Ministers of crown'd Heads, he ought to expect an exemplary Punishment, if he did not immediately retire. We instantly drew our Swords, and Count *Lamberg's* Servants running out at the Noise, I was soon supported by several brave Men, who came to my Assistance.

We pursued the Chevalier, who perceiving himself attacked by a number of People, thought proper to retreat, and being first dangerously wounded, retired into the Church of *Nôtre Dame de Loretto*. This Affair occasioned so great a Noise, that all *Rome* was in motion, and particularly contributed to make me known to Count *Lamberg*, who, embracing me, to shew his Satisfaction, said, that Prince *Eugene* had spoke favourably of me, and desired that I would support the Emperor's Interest with warmth, upon all Occasions, promising to represent this Affair to the Court of *Vienna* to my Advantage.

Cardinal *Janson* and the Duke d'*Uceda*, enraged that one of their Faction should be insulted, and partly at my Discourse upon the Subject of the Marquis del *Vasto*, arm'd a number of Men immediately, with a Resolution to attack Count *Lamberg's* Palace, and, if possible, to take me from thence by force,
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But I made such Dispositions, and armed so *An. 1701.* many Men and Domesticks, that we had nothing to apprehend.

The Pope foreseeing this Affair would be attended with fatal Consequences, resolved to put a stop to it in the beginning, and ordered large Patrols to march all Night, to prevent popular Disturbances, and sent to the Ambassadors of the three Crowns to lay down their Arms; adding, that he was Master of his own Capital, and that unless his Orders were obeyed, he would plant some Pieces of Cannon before their Palaces to compel them by force.

During these Transactions, the Pope, who was unwilling to use violent Remedies, privately desired the *Venetian* Ambassador to offer his Mediation, to accommodate this Difference. The three offended Ambassadors gave their Consent. Count *Lamberg* was prevailed upon rather to please his Holiness, at a Juncture which did not permit him to aggravate the Court of *Rome*, than from his Apprehension of being insulted by the Ministers of those two Crowns, who had raised a Commotion in *Rome*, under pretence of demanding Satisfaction.

During my stay at *Rome*, I contracted an Acquaintance with Count *del Fiesco*, a Nobleman of the first Rank in *Italy*. As I happened to be at this Gentleman's House, a Messenger from Count *Lamberg* acquainted me, that he had received an Express from the Army in *Italy*, with Letters of Importance; adding, that he desired immediately to see me. I went that Moment, impatient to know what the Dispatches had brought.

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I knew the Duke of *Vandome* was arrived in *Italy*, who would take the Advantage of the Superiority of his Forces to attack Prince *Eugene* before he received the Succours from *Germany*. And having my Imagination filled with the Project of the Court of *France*, which was to send a numerous Army into *Italy*, that the Imperialists might be obliged to abandon the Blockade of *Mantua*, and perhaps all other Conquests they had made the last Campaign, I was very melancholy at these Reflexions.

Being come to Count *Lamberg's* Palace, that Minister seemed very sorrowful; and, addressing himself to me, said, Sir, I just received a melancholy piece of News: The Emperor has lost the most powerful and most affectionate of his Allies, the King of *England*. I have an account of his Death by Express from Prince *Eugene*. This News appeared so dreadful to me at first, that I doubted whether I would not assoon have heard of the Loss of a Battle, as of the Death of that Prince. Count *Lamberg*, who had the first News of it, thought proper not to divulge it immediately. There were some Negotiations upon the Anvil at the Court of *Rome*, that obliged him to be silent upon that head, which we wished had been finished before, lest the face of Affairs should be altered by it. Nevertheless we had just concluded one, which had met with extraordinary Difficulties, and by good Fortune the Pope had explained himself upon it a little before. The King of *Spain* having signified to his Holiness, the Resolution he had taken of coming to *Rome*, with the view of receiving the Investiture

vestiture of the Kingdom of *Naples* from the Hands of his Holiness, the Pope had signified to Cardinal *Janson* and the Duke *d'Uceda*, that if the end of the King of *Spain's* Voyage to *Rome*, was only for the Investiture of *Naples*, which had been so long contested, he desired they would inform that young Monarch, that he should be pleased if he would not expose himself to the Fatigues of a long Voyage; adding, that he had given sufficient Reasons already, why he would not decide that Affair. An. 1701.

Count *Lamberg* had been very assiduous to prevent that Stroke, having us'd all possible Stratagems at the Court of *Rome*, and set many Springs to work, to frustrate the secret Cabals of Cardinal *Janson* and the Duke *d'Uceda*. These Ministers, supported by the *French* Faction, persuaded themselves, that if they could once make the Pope understand that the young King's only Design was to receive his Benediction from his own Hands, the holy Father, at the sight of that Prince, could not but grant him the Investiture, for which his Piety and Devotion was only a Pretence.

By the Friendship of the Count *del Fiesco*, I had artfully insinuated my self near a Person who contributed very much to the Success of that Negotiation. This was Count *Charles de Borromée*, an agreeable young Lord, who loved Pleasure and Gallantry, and had honoured me with the Confidence of his Amours. At that time a Treaty of Marriage was on foot between this Nobleman and a Daughter of Don *Horatio*, the Pope's Brother. Count *Borromée* knew the most secret Affairs

An. 1701. Affairs of the Court of *Rome* from this Lady, by whose means we discovered the Cabals of the *French* and *Spanish* Ambassadors. Count *Borromée* went so far, as to promise me to ask Don *Horatio* if he would take upon him to speak to the Pope upon that Affair, and to use his Endeavour to prevent the Duke of *Anjou's* coming to *Rome*. Cardinal *Paulucci* Secretary of State, a Friend of Count *Lamberg's*, contributed likewise very much toward the Pope's Determination in that Affair. I had the Management of that Negotiation, and succeeded in it to Count *Lamberg's* Satisfaction. For at this time, as I said before, that Minister had quarrelled with the Court of *Rome*, upon the Affair of the Marquis *del Vasto*.

That Negotiation being thus happily finished, Count *Lamberg* and those of the Emperor's Party were exceedingly rejoiced. It was their Interest to use their utmost Endeavours to prevent that Stroke, for the Affair of the Investiture of *Naples* remaining undecided, was a perpetual Seed of Division, which had occasioned the *Neapolitans* to revolt, and rendered them affectionate to the House of *Austria*. This has manifestly appeared; for the Duke of *Anjou* was hardly gone from *Naples* for *Milan*, but a second Conspiracy was discovered, more dangerous than the first. The Pope confirmed the Resolution he had taken, by sending Cardinal *Barberini a Latere* to *Naples*, to compliment the King of *Spain* in his Name.

At last the Death of the King of *England* was made publick at *Rome*, which openly discovered those who truly valued the Liberty of

of *Italy*, or those who wished to see it under the Yoke of a foreign Prince. One said, *An. 1701.* We have just lost the Protector of all *Europe*, from whom we expected, under God, all human Assistance to deliver us from Slavery. I shall make no Scruple to say, that the number of these was greatest. The Pope, most of the Cardinals, all the *Roman* Nobility, and even the common People, seemed concerned; while Cardinal *Fanson* and the Duke *d'Uceda*, at the Head of the *French* Faction, proclaimed their Joy. They appeared in all Parts of the Town, publishing with a smiling Countenance, that at length the united Crowns would triumph over their Enemies; that upon the King of *Spain's* Arrival in *Italy*, they would lay down their Arms, and put themselves under the Protection of that young Monarch; that the Imperialists, for want of the Money and Subsidies they received from *England*, could not consequently subsist in *Italy*, and would be obliged to repass the Mountains, or hazard a Battle, the Event of which would be fatal. Thus the *French* and *Spaniards* reasoned.

But as the Courier who brought the News of the Death of King *William*, brought that of the Accession of the Princess *Anne* to the Crown of *England* at the same time; with the Resolutions of the Parliament, who had met and confirmed the Union with *Holland*, and had ordered a numerous Fleet to be fitted out; that they designed to embark eighteen thousand Men to make a Descent in *Italy* or in *Spain*; that *England* and *Holland* were resolved to maintain the Alliances made with foreign Princes before the De-

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An. 1701. cease of that Monarch. In short, all these Circumstances moderated the publick Sorrow in some measure, and made them conceive that the Death of his *Britannick Majesty*, would afford very little Advantage to the united Crowns, and that the Emperor's Allies would carry on the War with Vigour.

To divert Sorrow, and relax my Mind, which had been fatigued with Business, I went to pay a Visit to the Count *del Fiesco*, where I met with Count *Charles de Borromée*. The engaging Behaviour of those two Lords, added to the magnificent Entertainment given by the Count *del Fiesco*, made me pass the rest of the Day very agreeably; and Gallantry being the Subject of our Conversation, he related an Adventure which happened to him at *Paris*, that appeared to me very singular and diverting, from the Circumstances attending it.

I had a Mistress, says the Count *del Fiesco*, during my stay at *Paris*, and lived in the Quarter of *St. Honoré*, near *St. Innocent's* Church-yard, around which there are Vaults built in the Reign of *Philip Augustus*, with the Money raised by the Confiscation of the Estates of the *Jews*, when they were driven from *Paris*. There being no Place in the World where a greater Number of dead Bodies are buried, a certain *Spanish* Ambassador who was at *Paris* during the *Ligue*, advised the Inhabitants, who were cruelly pressed with Hunger, to reduce the Bones in this Church-yard to Ashes for Bread. *Madamoiselle de Frontenai*, which was the Name of my Mistress, continued the Count, acquainted

ed me by a Letter on *Shrove-Tuesday* in the *An. 1701.*
 Evening, that she would be glad of my Com-
 pany to end the Carnival, and desired me
 not to forget to bring something delicate to
 entertain her. The Laws of Love permit a
 Mistress to ask or to refuse what she pleases
 on that Day. It is a time of general Disorder,
 especially in so large a City as *Paris*.

I transformed my self, changing my Peruke
 and Clothes, and ordered my Servant to go
 and wait for me at the *Hotel of Luxembourg*,
 without saying where he left me; then went
 into a Cook's Shop, and filled a Napkin with
 a Venison Pasty, a brace of Partridge, a Rab-
 bit, and some Fritters for the Desert. Hav-
 ing wrapt them all together, I was going di-
 rectly to my Mistress, after eleven o' th' Clock
 at Night. The next Day being *Ashwednes-*
day, there was a universal Silence already
 throughout the City; and being come to
 St. *Innocent's* Church-yard, which I was ob-
 liged to pass through, I perceived the Watch
 coming, and withdrew my self at some dis-
 tance near a Tomb appointed for the Anni-
 versary of the *Trepassez*, and observing the
 Watch followed me, I put my Napkin into
 a large Hole under the Tomb; then taking
 a Chapelet in my Hand, which I always car-
 ried about me, I knelt down in a very de-
 vout Posture. The Watch asked me what
 I did there? I answered, that I prayed for
 the Souls of the *Trepassez*. The Officer see-
 ing my Chapelet, and my devout Counte-
 nance, ordered his Men to withdraw, and my
 self to go home.

I pretended to go away; but the Watch
 being passed, I went back for my Supper
 which

An. 1701. which I had hid under the Tomb, and putting my trembling Hand in the Hole, I stretched my Arm as far as I could, but found neither Napkin, nor what was in it. I was seized with so panick a Fear at this Accident, that I could hardly recover myself, as you may imagine, considering the Horror of the Place, and the profound Silence at that time of the Night. The horrid Noise and terrible rattling of Chains, I heard in the Tomb, added to this, which represented a thousand Souls suffering their Purgatory in that dark Place, increased my Astonishment to such a degree, that I forgot both Supper and Love. Nevertheless I escaped as well as I could, and fled along the Wall, thinking my self pursued by an Army of the Dead, and while I ran in this Fear, I felt something pull me behind by the Cloke; I lost all my Courage at this, and fell upon the Ground like one that was dead, with my Nose against the Guard of my Sword. At last I turned my self to see whether I was not held by some Phantom, but found that my Cloke had laid hold of a Nail belonging to the Hinge of a Coffin. Then I began to take some Breath, and lost the Fear the Nail had occasion'd, but not that of the Tomb.

At last I sat down, and began to reflect upon what had passed, and what Account I should give of my self the next Day. For to relate so surprising an Adventure, without any Reality, was exposing my self to the Ridicule of my Friends, to pass for a Fool and a Madman, or a Coward and a Liar. On the other hand, I thought if I made no mention of it, how should I excuse my self to my Mistress?

Mistress? After all these Reflexions, I con- *An. 1701.*
 cluded if it was a dead Body, he had no oc-
 casion for my Supper; if a living Man, he
 must be very little, that I could not feel him
 when I put my Arm under the Tomb.

At length I concluded, if it be a Demon,
 he will fly at the Sign of the Cross. If it be
 a Soul, I shall know whether any Masses are
 required to deliver it from its Torments; and
 if it be a Man, I am capable to defend my-
 self. With this Resolution I went courage-
 ously back to the Tomb, with my Sword in
 hand, and said, like a brave Man, I conjure
 and command you, in the Name of the Cu-
 rate of this Church, if thou art a Soul in
 Pain, tell me what you would have done?
 Nevertheless the Noise of the Chains was
 more furious than ever. I repeated my Con-
 juration three times, and the oftner I repeated
 it, the more the Chains resounded in that dis-
 mal Place. Perceiving that all this was to no
 purpose, and that I suffered my Courage to
 slacken, and the same Fear to return, I should
 certainly sink under it, I put my Sword be-
 tween my Teeth that instant, and with both
 Hands took hold of the Coffin, which was in
 the Tomb, by the lower Hole, and in lift-
 ing it up, out started a large black Dog, who
 ran between my Legs, having several Bells
 hanging to his Tail. He had looked for *Asylum*
 in this sacred Place, to avoid the cruel Per-
 secutions of the Footmen. And as soon as he
 had reposed himself, smelling the Meat he
 had drawn it to him; and in Reprisal for
 what he had suffered the last Day of Carnaval,
 began Lent with a good Meal upon my Mis-
 tress's Supper.

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An. 1701.

The terrible and unexpected howling he made when he came out redoubled my Fear to that degree, that as he run one way I was going to run the other; but the Leg Bone of a Skeleton, added to the Dogs Bells, struck me upon the Legs with that Force, that I was unable to move. Assoon as the Pain was over, I had a great Inclination to laugh, and whensoever I think of it, said the Count *del Fiesco*, I laugh yet at the Singularity of the Adventure. We may conclude from hence, said I to the Count, that those things which are seen in the Night, and often pass for Phantoms and Apparitions, are only the pure Effect of Chance and Imagination.

The above-mentioned Negotiation was hardly finished before the Marquis *de Louville* Gentleman of the Chamber to the King of *Spain*, arrived at *Rome*. The Marquis had orders to go immediately to his Holiness, to acquaint him, that the King his Master was happily arrived at *Naples*, and that he earnestly desired to come to kiss his Holiness's Feet. The Pope took a step at this time, which extremely chagreen'd Count *Lamberg*, and appear'd intirely opposite to the Promise he had made that Ambassador, by his Brother Don *Horatio*, who had the care of that important Affair, as I said before; for the Marquis *de Louville* having desired an Audience, his Holiness gave it with such Marks of Distinction, as had never been granted to any Ambassador before, a new Ceremonial being observed for that Envoy. This extraordinary and unexpected Conduct of the Pope's, at so critical a Juncture, appeared so dangerous and opposite to the real Interest
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of the Emperor, that Count *Lamberg* and all those of his Party were alarmed at it. And indeed we apprehended, that the Pope would shew us a piece of the finest *Italian* Policy that had ever been practised; for on one hand, he had protested in appearance, not to consent to the King of *Spain's* coming to *Rome*, and on the other, he had taken proper Steps to acquaint that Monarch, that his Presence would not be disagreeable. A Conference was held at Count *Lamberg's* upon this Proceeding of his Holiness, at which were present, all the Persons of Distinction, who were well affected to the Interest of his Imperial Majesty; wherein it was resolved, that the Ministers of the House of *Austria* should instantly protest against the Reception of the King of *Spain*, against the Marquis de *Louville*, or any other Minister, who should represent that Monarch.

The Friendship of Count *Borromée* having procured me the Acquaintance of Don *Annibal*, and the Chevalier *Albani*, Nephew to the Pope, who had been nominated to accompany Cardinal *Carlo Barberini*, Legate à *Latere*, in his Voyage to *Naples*; Count *Lamberg* charged me to discover the Pope's real Sentiments in that Affair, by my Conversation with those Gentlemen. I thought an Affair so important ought not to be neglected, and therefore went immediately to Count *Borromée*, intreating his Assistance in that Negotiation, which he had been concerned in before. We consulted together; and knowing that Don *Annibal* and the Chevalier *Albani* were upon their Departure, resolved upon paying a Visit, to compliment

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them

An. 1701.

An. 1701. them upon their Voyage to *Naples*. The
 Conversation began immediately upon the
 Magnificence of the Embassy, to which Car-
 dinal *Barberini* had been nominated. He was
 to embark on board the Pope's Galleys, with
 a Retinue of above three hundred Persons,
 an extraordinary rich Equipage, and the most
 valuable Presents that could be made to that
 Monarch. For his Holiness, to give him real
 Marks of his Esteem, had opened all the
 Treasures of the Church. He gave him a-
 mong other precious Relicks, a golden Christ
 valued at six thousand Crowns, and several
 other Rarities of Devotion curiously wrought,
 a Statue of the Chevalier *Bernin*, and one of
 Agate, twenty Pictures by the most celebra-
 ted Painters in *Italy*, four Bodies of Saints,
 locked up in Gold and Silver Cases, and a
 number of other Curiosities.

The Count *de Borromet* taking the word,
 address'd himself to Don *Annibal* and the
 Chevalier *Albani*, and said, Gentlemen, *We wish*
you a prosperous Voyage, and a safe Return to
Rome with the King of Spain. The Chevalier
Albani answered, Gentlemen, *We are much*
obliged to you, but permit me to tell you, that our
Voyage to Naples is not to invite the King
of Spain to Rome, and added, these are not
Cardinal Barberini's Instructions, whom we are
to accompany. Upon these Words, the Count
de Borromet, who is an intimate Friend of the
 Chevalier's, took him aside to the Corner of
 the Hall, and pressed him to discover the Se-
 crets of the Embassy. The Chevalier *Albani*
 confidently told him, that he was very cer-
 tain the Pope had given particular Instructi-
 ons to Cardinal *Barberini*, to dissuade the King
 of

of Spain from coming to Rome, if he had *An. 1701.* formed such a Design, that his Holiness might avoid the Concern his Refusal of the Investiture might occasion. But how does this agree, says Count *Borromée*, with the extraordinary Honours paid to the Marquis *de Louville*? The Pope, reply'd the Chevalier, could not refuse Incense to a Prince, who will soon be at the Head of an Army capable of making all *Italy* tremble: But the Pride and Magnificence of Cardinal *Barberini*'s Embassy, the Richness and Curiosity of the Presents he carries with him, and the extraordinary Honours paid to the Marquis *de Louville* at Rome, are designed only to flatter that young Monarch, and to divert him from coming to kiss his Holiness's Feet. He farther added, if you would have a more convincing Proof, of what I advance, I will communicate to you in private, the Superscription of the Brief Cardinal *Barberini* is charged with, which is in the following Terms,

Dilecto Filio nostro, Duci Andegavensi, Regi Hispanorum proclamato, & in Regno nostro Neapolitano commoranti.

To our beloved Son the Duke of Anjou, proclaimed King of Spain, at present residing in our Kingdom of Naples.

You may plainly see, said he, that the Pope is far from consenting to the Investiture of *Naples*, which without doubt would be that Prince's principal Motive in coming to Rome; since his Holiness has only given him the Title of Duke of *Anjou*, instead of that of King of *Spain*, which had been given him by

An. 1701. all the Princes in *Italy* except the Pope. At length we took leave of these Gentlemen, very well pleased with our Visit. Count *Borromée*, who had served me in that Affair, as well as in many others, had lately scrupled to go to Count *Lamberg's*, for fear of being suspected by the Pope, whose Niece he proposed to marry: Because it seemed, that the Misunderstanding between Count *Lamberg* and the Court of *Rome*, instead of diminishing, might soon degenerate into an open Rupture: For the Pope not only deceived that Minister upon the whole Affair of the Marquis *del Vasto*, and gave authentick Marks of his Partiality against that Lord; but carried it to that Extremity at length, as to suffer the Marquis to be condemned to death.

I made a faithful Report of the Conversation we had held with Don *Annibal* and the Chevalier *Albani* to Count *Lamberg*, relating word for word what Count *Borromée* had told me. But the Count, irritated at the Pope's Proceedings against the Interest of the Emperor, could never be persuaded but his Holiness actually intended what he affected to hide with so much Artifice from the Publick. This Minister being weary of his Dissimulation, and perceiving that all the Protests he had made were in vain, resolved to depart from *Rome* without taking leave of his Holiness. He went to St. *Quiringo*, and from thence to *Sienna*, with a Design to stay till he had fresh Orders from the Emperor. The Marquis *del Vasto* seeing a Monitory, and a Sentence decreed against him, by virtue of which he was to be beheaded, took the opportunity of departing with Count *Lamberg*. Having heard

heard that the Marquis design'd to go to *An. 1701.* Prince *Eugene's* Army, I went to take leave of him, and gave him a Packet of Letters to be delivered to that Prince, wherein I gave him a particular Account of what I had transacted during my Stay in *Rome*.

Count *Lamberg's* Departure chagrined me a little, by the Loss of so powerful a Friend, who honoured me with his Esteem. That Minister assured me, that he would take a particular Care of my Fortune, when he came to the Court of *Vienna*; adding that he would inform his Imperial Majesty of the Diligence and Zeal I had shewn for his Service at *Rome*. I thanked him for the Honour of his Esteem and Good-will, adding that the Campaign being soon to begin in *Italy*, I earnestly desired to repair to the Imperial Army, finding my Presence at *Rome* was unnecessary, after his Excellency's Departure. Count *Lamberg* answered me, that I ought to wait for Orders from Prince *Eugene*; that Cardinal *Grimani* being to take the Management of the Affairs of the Court of *Vienna* upon him in his Absence, he would take care to recommend me to his Eminence, whose Civility would soon make me forget the Concern I seemed to have at his Departure, and lastly, that I should not want for Employ at *Rome*, if I continued in the Sentiments of supporting the Interests of his Imperial Majesty: That the Duke of *Anjou's* Arrival at *Naples*, would create Business sufficient to employ me, and that Cardinal *Grimani* would be extremely pleased to have a Person near him, in whom he might thoroughly confide.

An. 1791. 81 After the Departure of Count *Lamberg*, Cardinal *Grimani* endeavoured to insinuate himself in the Pope's Favour by Civility and Complaisance, without departing from the Character with which he was vested. Good Policy requir'd that he should act with a Conduct contrary to Count *Lamberg's*, who preceeded him in the Embassy, although that Minister had done nothing but what was conformable to the Instructions he had received from the Emperor. Count *Lamberg* happened to be at *Rome* when all the Affairs were intricate and difficult; he had a thousand Obstacles to surmount, and as many Difficulties to conquer. The late Insurrection at *Naples* raised by the Party which had declared in favour of the Archduke, and in which the greatest Part of the Nobility was concerned, had engaged him to quarrel with the Court of *Rome*: since the very Character of Ambassador from his Imperial Majesty, obliged him to protect all those who had taken arms in favour of his Master. So that after Count *Lamberg's* Departure, Cardinal *Grimani's* Business was to remove the Partiality that appeared in the Pope till this time, which required an extraordinary Management and Circumspection.

Cardinal *Grimani* had several Audiences of the Pope, wherein he enlarged very much upon the Misunderstanding, which obliged Count *Lamberg* to retire from *Rome*, without taking leave of his Holiness. He set forth the Injustice which had been done to the Marquis *del Vasso*, and the Necessity the Pope was under of revoking the Sentence, which had been pronounced against him. He

added

added moreover, that it was to have been wished he had deferred the Embassy of Cardinal *Charles Barberini*, which would be certainly attended with pernicious Consequences, if his Holiness, who had already declared himself too much in favour of the united Crowns, did not timely prevent them. He farther added, that the Complaisance of his Holiness to the Duke of *Anjou*, to the Prejudice of the House of *Austria*, would one day be fatal to the Court of *Rome*. For, said he, it is no longer time to dissemble, since I have just heard, that the Cavalcade, or Entrance of that Prince into *Naples*, has been deferred only in expectation of this Ambassador *à la-tère*; that from his Eminence's honouring him with his Presence, they may draw an authentic Act, which may one day furnish sufficient Proofs, to make the World acknowledge, that the young King of *Spain* has actually received the Investiture, with the Consent of his Holiness. That Affair, continued he, is of so great Importance to the Emperor, and the holy See, that it ought to be examined with all imaginable Circumspection; and ending in these terms, he prayed his Holiness to attend seriously to it; and then withdrew.

The Pope reflecting upon what Cardinal *Grimani* had represented, was so sensible how important it was to prevent the dangerous Consequences with which that Affair might be attended, that in a Consultation with some of his Favourite Cardinals, they concluded, that if Cardinal *Barberini* assisted at the Cavalcade of the Duke of *Anjou*, or at the Administration of the Oath of Fidelity, which

An. 1701. that Prince would offer at such a Juncture, such a Step would infallibly make room for a formal Act, which might put it in the Duke of *Anjou's* Power to scorn the Court of *Rome* in the End, upon the Subject of the Investiture of *Naples*. Therefore the Pope dispatched a Courier that Moment to Cardinal *Barberini*, with Orders for his Eminence to stay at *Neptuno*, till the Duke of *Anjou* had made his Entrance. But as this Proceeding perplexed the Court of *Rome* very much, the Pope being unwilling to break his Word to the Marquis *de Louville*, it was judged proper to acquaint the Duke of *Anjou*, that if he would receive the Cardinal *alatero*, whom his Holiness sent, in the same manner as Cardinal *Francis Barberini* had been received at *Madrid* by *Philip* the 4th, when he was sent by *Urban* the VIIIth in the same Quality, that Cardinal *Charles Barberini* should go instantly to *Naples*.

The Duke of *Anjou* called a Council upon this Affair, which was of the utmost Importance; for on one hand he observed, that without the Favour of the Court of *Rome*, he should never gain the Love of a People, over whom the Pope had an Influence; and that instead of stifling the Divisions in their Infancy, which was the Motive that called him into *Italy*, he should sow new Seeds of Revolt, more dangerous than those he had quelled. Therefore he conformed himself to what the Pope had required, desiring that he would instantly send the Legate he intended. Cardinal *Grimani*, not expecting all this Complaisance, was extremely satisfied with the Success of his Negotiation, which was the first

first he had undertaken, since the Departure *An. 1701.* of Count *Lamberg*. As I had not the same Enjoyment at *Rome* in the Absence of that Minister, by the Loss of those Gentlemen of his Retinue, with whom I had contracted an intimate Friendship; and wanting the same Access to Cardinal *Grimani*, as I had to Count *Lamberg*, who honoured me with a Confidence in all his Negotiations; Besides my natural Inclination to War, and the Desire I had of being near my Benefactor Prince *Eugene*, now the Operations of the Campaign were beginning, where I might find a better Opportunity of making my Fortune than at *Rome*, I resolved to write the following Letter to that Prince.

I Must acquaint your Highness, that although I find all the Enjoyments here, which form the Pleasures of Life, and which, in so agreeable a Country, would be capable of satisfying a Person of a more peaceable Disposition than my self, I am nevertheless weary of it. I sincerely confess my greatest Weakness to your Highness, at the Hazard of my Disgrace, which is, that I prefer the Employ of a Soldier, to that of a Negotiator. Too much Ease is burdensom to one of my Constitution. I do my self an Injury, and was it possible, could wish with all my Heart to be of another Mould. I flatter my self in that Case, that I should be more capable of personating the Character I have undertaken at *Rome* till this Time. Nevertheless, the Passion and Zeal which I have always had for the Service of your Highness, will make me every where agreeably undertake whatsoever you require; and shall be too well pleased with my self, when I know

Apr. 1701. know your Highness is so with my Services. I
 desire no other Reward. Give me leave only to
 say, that when a Soldier, as I am, compares the
 magnificent Palaces of our Cardinals, the Atten-
 dance and Pomp which surrounds their Eminen-
 ces, the Plenty of all manner of Niceties, which
 compose the Sweetness of an easy and indolent Life;
 when I compare, I say, all these Ingredients,
 to the Encampment of an Army sounding with
 Noise, and sometimes with Alarms, to our Tents
 exposed to the Inclemencies of the Weather, to our
 want of Necessaries sometimes, to our tedious
 Marches and Countermarches, and lastly to our
 bloody Battles, I am so far delighted with the
 last, that I should have thought my self the most
 unhappy of Mankind, if Fortune had bestowed a
 Cardinal's Hat upon me, instead of the Sword I
 wear. Therefore, I leave your Highness to judge
 of my Unasiness and Impatience at this Time.
 My Sleep is interrupted in the Night with the
 imaginary Sound of Trumpets and Drums, and
 all Sorts of Arms. I believe I must absolutely
 change the Air, before I can recover, and quit
 this which is so fatal to my Tranquillity and Re-
 pose: The earnest Desire I have of repairing to
 the Army is not to be express'd, and especially
 near your Person, that I may be there employed
 where yours and the Emperor's Service shall re-
 quire. The most important Affairs are finished
 here, and since the Departure of Count Lamberg,
 I live in a shameful Indolence. I wait your
 Highnesses Orders by the first Courier, and
 am, &c.

At length the Courier, so much wished for,
 arrived with Dispatches for Cardinal Grimani;
 and

and Prince *Eugene* acquainted me, he had *An. 1701.* read my Letter with Pleasure, and that since I preferred the Stratagems of War, to the Intrigues of Cardinals, I might come from *Rome* at the Return of the same Courier. His Highness communicated to Cardinal *Grimani* the Resolutions of *England* and *Holland*, after the Death of King *William*, which were to bend all their Strength, to maintain and support the Emperor's Pretensions to the Monarchy of *Spain*. That those two united Powers had sent a Fleet to Sea for that End, which consisted of eighty Men of War, ready to sail to *Portugal* with eighteen Thousand Forces. That the Land Army of those two Nations, had opened the Campaign by the Siege of *Keyserwart*, and that while they work'd upon the Reduction of that Place, Prince *Lewis* of *Baden* would invest *Landau*, that the King of the *Romans* would be present to signalize himself at the taking so important a Place. That the *French* were mistaken in their Measures in *Italy*, where they had sent the most considerable of their Forces, thinking to attack the Imperial Army at the opening of the Campaign with a superior Force, and by this means put an end to the War in *Italy* by a decisive Action, which would empower them to send a great Part of their Troops into *Germany*, to oppose the Undertakings of the Imperialists on that Side. That his own Conduct, which appeared contrary to the Rules of War, in abandoning most of those Posts he possessed, was only to restrain *Mantua* the closer, to unite all his Forces into one Body capable to make head against the Enemy, to run no Hazard, to in-

trench

An. 1701. trench himself in some inaccessible Post, to
 subfist his Army conveniently, while the
French Army was weakened by Desertion,
 Diseases, and Famine. That when the great
 Heats were over, which are so fatal to the
French, he might begin a Campaign in his
 Turn, and then having receiv'd his Reinforce-
 ments, flattered himself that he might under-
 take some Expeditions still more successful
 than the last. He finished by saying, that
 the Event would prove, that neither the
 Duke of *Anjou's* Voyage to *Italy*, nor the
 Number of Forces sent him by the King of
France, would make the least Alteration in the
 Emperor's Affairs; and that the Readiness of
 the *Italians* to revolt, gave him certain Pre-
 sages of a complete Victory.

The End of the Eighth Part,



MEMOIRS OF COUNT BONNEVAL.

PART IX.



Aving left *Rome*; I went to Prince *An. 1702.*
Eugene, and arrived in *Lombardy*
when both Armies were in Motion. The Forces of the Duke de
Vandome consisted of above sixty
Thousand Men, and the King of *France*,
whose View was to put an end to the War
in *Italy*, and to make a glorious Campaign
for the Duke of *Anjou*, resolved to support
the Undertakings of that Prince. He look-
ed upon him as a young Hero, just entring
the Scene, to open the Theatre of a War,
which was to gain him the Love of the Peo-
ple, and to distinguish him from other Kings
of *Spain*, who had lived in Indolence and
Ease.

An. 1702. Ease. Besides, the *Spaniards*, who had chosen him to be their King, or who had been rather compelled to the Choice, by the Intrigues of *France*, expected nothing less than Prodigies of Heroism, from a Prince who was descended from that House, which had made all *Europe* tremble by its Power and Conquests. Nevertheless Prince *Eugene* did not suffer himself to be dazzled by all this Pomp; although he was much inferior in Strength, these prodigious Preparations did not in the least discompose him; his Valour, Magnanimity, and consummate Experience in the Art of War made him universally triumph. If he met with a Shock, it ought not to be attributed to his Fault, but to his Lieutenant-Generals, who suffered themselves to be surprized, witness the Battle of *Santa Victoria*, which was the first great Action of that Campaign. The Affair happened thus. The young King being gone from *Milan*, to put himself at the Head of the *French* Army, came immediately to *Cremona*, where he was visited by some *Italian* Princes, and among others the Dukes of *Parma* and *Mantua*, till the Projects of the Duke of *Vandome* and the Prince de *Vaudemont* were executed for opening the Campaign. The Duke and that Prince having had an Interview at *Bozzolo*, agreed, that since they could not offer Prince *Eugene* Battle on the Side of *Rivalta*, the Army should be divided into several Corps, to endeavour to attack him in some other Places. The Prince de *Vaudemont* repaired immediately to *Cremona*, to acquaint the young King with the Measures they had taken, upon which, all the *French* Troops were in Motion

tion to pass the *Po*, and march towards *Lenza*. *General Visconti* being informed of this Motion, thought proper to post himself at *Santa Vittoria*, behind the *Croftolo*, with the three Regiments of Cuirassiers under his Command, that he might the more easily observe the Enemy, and inform Prince *Eugene* of their Motions at the same Time. Nevertheless, the *French Army* having passed the *Lenza*, advanced to *Castel nuovo*, from whence the Duke of *Vandome* went with a Body of twenty five Squadrons, and fourteen Companies of Grenadiers, and passing the *Croftolo*, attacked General *Visconti*, who had no Advice of his March. The Duke of *Vandome* found the Imperialists in the greatest Disorder imaginable, their Tents up, and their Horses in the Meadows. However they ranged themselves in order of Battle as well as they could, and maintained the Fight with so much Resolution, that the Victory was uncertain. *Vandome* attacked them in two different Places, and finding more Opposition than he expected, called the King of *Spain* to his Assistance; that Prince hastened to him with nine Squadrons, but came when General *Visconti* was routed, and the young Monarch was only Spectator of the Advantage gained by the Duke of *Vandome*. The *French*, according to Custom, extolled this Action, and looked upon it as a Prelude of Prince *Eugene's* Defeat in *Italy*, although it was only a Trifle in reality. The King of *Spain* and the Duke of *Vandome* wrote to the King of *France* in very lofty Terms upon the Beginning of a Campaign, which promis'd them all imaginable Success. The young King observed in
his

An. 1702. his Letter, that this Victory was as complete as could be for a Battle of Cavalry; that he had a great Inclination to be present at it; but that notwithstanding all the Haste he could make, he could not arrive till the End of the Action, that *Visconti* was very well encamped against Prince *Eugene*, but not against the *French Army*; having a Brook behind him which his Troops were pushed into, that the Brook was filled with dead Bodies and Horses when he arrived, so that his Grenadiers passed over it dry, although the Banks were very steep. That the Enemies Camp was entirely plundered, as well as their Equipages and Baggage. That six Hundred of his Grenadiers were become Grenadiers of Horse; that his Majesty might be assured; that Affair was one of the most complete, that the Enemy's Fear was so great, that they threw themselves from as great a Height into the *Tessone*, as from the Terras of *St. Germain* into the *Seine*, and that many more were drowned than killed; that his most *Serene*, speaking of the Duke of *Mantua*, had follow'd him every where, as well as the *Spaniards* who appeared extremely satisfied with the Engagement; that he prayed his Majesty to communicate what he wrote to Monseigneur, and to his Brothers, being so much fatigued that he could not possibly write to them; that he left the Care of dispatching a Courier to the Duke of *Vandome*, being unwilling to take the Honour of an Action to himself, which belonged to the Duke; that when he dispatched one from himself to his Majesty, it should be upon a decisive Action, that his Majesty might not rejoice without reason,

reason, &c. This Battle was soon followed *An. 1702.*
 by another of greater Importance. The King of *Spain*, improving the Advantage he had gained, took possession of the Dutchy of *Modena*, and advanced with his Army to the *Testa*, with a Resolution to offer Prince *Eugene* Battle; the Prince had quitted the Blockade of *Mantua*, which had continued eight Months, and decamped from *Seraglio* so privately, that the Prince *de Vaudemont*, who was encamped at *Rivolta*, was insensible of it till the next Day. After this Motion, the Imperial Army posted at *Soiletto*, consisting only of 24 thousand Men by reason of the Detachments Prince *Eugene* was obliged to make, to reinforce the Garrisons of *Bersetto*, *Offiglia*, *Guaftalla*, *Luzzara*, and *Mirandola*. The French Army consisted of no less than forty thousand, besides a considerable Detachment they expected from the Prince *de Vaudemont*. The King of *Spain* having decamped from *Testa* in the Night, advanced toward *Luzzara*, which was the Occasion of a bloody Battle. Prince *Eugene*, who is always active and vigilant, thought proper to prevent the Enemy's Designs by attacking them before they received the Succours from Prince *Vaudemont*. To this end, he ordered me to accompany General *Vaubonne*, who was detached with five hundred Horse to view the Ground. We found it so uneven and impracticable in several Places by the Hedges and Canals with which it was filled, that upon our Report to Prince *Eugene*, he changed the Disposition of the Order of Battle. The Duke of *Vandome* attacked the Post of *Luzzara* upon his Arrival, which was vigorously defended; Prince *Eugene* being upon the

T March

An. 1702. March to give him Battle, the Duke was extremely surprized, and immediately ranged the *French* Army to receive him. Prince *Eugene* ordered two Pieces of Cannon to be fired about five in the Evening, as a Signal of Battle, and all the Artillery began to play at the same Time; the right Wing of the Imperial Infantry attacked the left of the *French*, which was extended along the *Po*, I was present at the first Attack, and near Prince *de Commerci* when he was killed; the Death of that valiant Prince, who had gained so much Glory in *Italy*, occasioned a Confusion; some of our Squadrons and Battalions gave way, the *French* Fire was terrible on that Side, and their Cavalry took ours in the Flank.. Nevertheless, Prince *Eugene* having commanded the Regiments of *Herbersteyn*, *Bagny*, *Gutsensteyn*, and two Squadrons of *Serini* to advance; the Disorder was soon repaired, and those who had given way, rallying again, renewed the Charge, and drove the *French* from their Post, above a thousand Paces beyond their Intrenchments. General *Guido de Staremberg*, who commanded the Infantry on the Left, attacked the Enemy likewise with abundance of Bravery, and was supported by the Imperial Cavalry, commanded by Prince *de Vaudemont*, who performed Wonders. The *French* having formed a Body with all their Carabineers, and some *Irish* Battalions, endeavour'd to penetrate into our very Center; but were charged with so much Vigour, that they were obliged to retreat to their Intrenchments. The Fight ended when Night came on, and the Imperialists remained Masters of the Field of Battle. The following is a Letter Prince *Eugene* wrote to the Emperor's

ror's Envoy at the *Hague* upon the Subject *An. 1703.*
of that Battle.

Prince *Eugene's* Letter to the Count *de Goes*,
Envoy Extraordinary from his Imperial Ma-
jesty at the *Hague*.

AS the last Journal I sent you, mentioned among other Things, that the Enemy had distributed Ammunition to their Army, and had given out, that they should certainly march the next Day, I judged such a March might bring us to an Action; which happen'd in Effect. For having Advice from my Spies, that they advanced towards us on the 15th at ten in the Morning, and were already near *Luzzara*, I ordered our Army immediately under Arms, and marched to this Place, where I ranged in order of Battle, and then disposed all Things for a vigorous Resistance: But as we had little time for that March, while I placed the Army in Order, the Enemy approach'd nearer and nearer, so that we came to a general Fight, which ended in their Confusion, to the Advantage of his Imperial Majesty, and the Glory of his Arms. Want of Time prevents my giving you the Particulars of what passed; but as I send Count *Vellen*, Adjutant General to the King of the Romans before *Landau*, I charged him to send you an Express of it, either from *Inspruck* or *Ausbourg*, and desire you would send my Letter to Count *Wratislau*, and to all thereabouts, assuring you of a full Account of that Victory by the first Post, which is so glorious and advantageous to the Arms of his Imperial Majesty. I shall likewise insert the Names of those who were killed or wounded on our Side, among the former of which, besides several Officers, happens to be Prince *de Commerci*, whose Loss is the more to be regretted,

An. 1720. upon Account of his Valour and Bravery, known to all the World; and as his Imperial Majesty loses a General, who upon all Occasions, gave marks of his Courage and Resolution, at the Expence of the Enemy. Nevertheless I will tell you in Substance, that this great and glorious Action begun with the Cannon, about five o' th' Clock in the Evening, that towards six we joined, and our Right Wing attacked the Enemy in the midst of their Fire, with that Fury and Intrepidity, that without Flattery, I am obliged to own, I never saw Troops, both Officers and Soldiers, Horse and Foot, fight with so much Resolution, as those of his Imperial Majesty under my Command.

It is well known how much we were Inferior to the Enemy in Strength; notwithstanding which, we attacked them in their Post, in spite of the Advantage of the Place, and not only gained the Field of Battle with all their killed and wounded, which we are carrying to our Camp, but pushed the Enemy a thousand Paces back from the place of Battle, first on our Right Wing, and then on all Sides four different Times: But what is most glorious in that Action, is, that the Enemy had the Advantage of the Ground, having an inclosed Country before them, and that nevertheless their Troops, which they so much depended upon, were attacked and defeated. But the Bravery of our Left Wing ought to be admired above all, where the Cavalry, as well as the Infantry were obliged to fight against the Enemy's Infantry; and as they could not make use of their Swords, they used their fire Arms with so much Success, that they drove the Enemy into their Intrenchments, and especially the Gendarmerie, which was entirely overthrown. I continued to cannonade them all Day, being only Musket shot from each other, and we might have

have came to a second Engagement, if the Night, *An. 1702.*
 by the favour of which the Enemy retreated, and
 abandoned their Posts leaving all behind them, had
 not put an End to the Fight, and taken this Op-
 portunity of intrenching themselves, so that it is
 impossible to attack them.

I have resolved to order *Te Deum* to be solemn-
 ly sung, to give God Thanks for so signal a Victo-
 ry, and for the Confusion he has brought upon the
 Pride of our Enemies; it is what I am at present
 employed in, and conclude by remaining, &c.

From the Camp near *Luzzara*,

Aug. 16, 1702.

The *French* taking Advantage of their Superi-
 ority, after the Battle of *Luzzara*, besieged
Gustalla, which surrendered in eleven Days,
 and was given to the Duke of *Mantua* to in-
 demnify him for the Ravages committed by
 the Armies in his Country. They finished
 the Campaign with the Siege of *Borgoforte*,
 which was carried on by the Count *de Tessé*,
 with a Detachment of the Troops from the
 Garrison of *Mantua*. Prince *Eugene* on his
 Part had formed a noble Design, which was
 to surprise *Mantua*; but the Duke of *Vandome*
 being apprised of it, took proper Mea-
 sures to prevent it, and happy it was for the
 Prince, that he had early notice of the Disco-
 very by a Dragoon, who had deserted from
 the *French* Army, otherwise he had been sur-
 rounded by several Corps of Troops, who wait-
 ed for him in Ambuscade, under the Command
 of the Duke *de Vandome*. These are the only re-
 markable Transactions that passed between the
 two Armies during that Campaign, after which
 they entered into Winter Quarters. The King

An. 1702 of *Spain* was arrived at *Milan*, where he had made his Entry like a Monarch in Triumph, and departed in the same manner to return to *Spain*: The Streets were spread with fine Tapestry, he was attended by all the *Italian* Nobility, and the Cavalry and Dragoons marched before him with Sword in hand. He went away on the eleventh of *November* for *Genoa*, where he embarked for *Antibes*.

Prince *Eugene* also left the Imperial Army to repair to *Vienna*, where his Presence was necessary to regulate the Preparations for the next Campaign. He gave the Command of the Troops during his Absence to Count *Starremberg*, and set out on the 28th of *December* for *Venice*, whither I accompanied him. His Highness charged me with several Commissions in this City, which procured me the Advantage of passing the Carnival there, the true time of Pleasure and Diversion. As I had been at *Venice* before, I had some Acquaintance, and contracted others, which both together, made me pass the Winter most agreeably. Being one Night at the *Ridotto*, I was witness to a most surprising Adventure; the Countess *de Chichi* was the Subject of it, and am persuaded the recital will not be unpleasant.

The Count *de Chichi* is descended from one of the most wealthy and illustrious Families in *Italy*. He had married a young Lady, who passed for the most Beautiful in the Country; and as her Rank and Birth, supported by her Beauty, an easy Wit, and a sprightly Conversation, made her shine in the World, these excellent Qualities gave her admittance to all the Assemblies

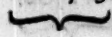
semblies of the Princes from different Courts, *An. 1702.*
 who came to pass the Carnival at *Venice*.

This Lady came one Night to the *Ridotto*, dress'd with all her Jewels, without the knowledge of her Husband, and was the only Person in that illustrious Society, who appeared undisguised and unmask'd, so that her Beauty soon attracted the Eyes of all the Spectators. Having seated herself near the Gaming Table, she laid a Purse with twenty thousand Ducats before her, and opened the Bank. Three Princes mask'd, whom she knew not, presented themselves, the first in the Habit of a Chimney-Sweeper, the second in the Habit of a Sailor, the third, who was the Duke of *Mantua*, in the Habit of an *Arlequin*. The first of these Princes, followed by a famous Banker, who was to be Security for him, opened the Scene of Play against the Countess *de Chichi*; she had Fortune on her Side, and won forty thousand Ducats of the Duke of ——— who being repulsed at his ill Fortune, chose to repose himself a few Minutes, and made room for the Sailor and the *Arlequin*: these two won the forty thousand Ducats which his Highness of ——— had lost, and the Countesses twenty thousand Ducats, which was all she would venture at Play. Nevertheless, as in all the Actions of Life, there is none, wherein the Passion is more prevalent than in Gaming, the Countess continued to play on without Money. The Masks asked the Banker, who was the Countess's Security, whether he would make good her Losses, who answer'd, he would not. The Countess enraged at her Banker's refusal, answered with a haughtiness capable of discomposing the most resolute

An. 1702. Person; *Masks, my Money is Standard, and I make good all that I lose.* Nevertheless the Masks refused to play. Upon this, the Countess rising full of Rage and Fury, retired into another Room, where she pull'd off all her Diamonds, and the precious Stones she wore, and put them into a Purse, which she sealed with her own Seal, and then entering the *Ridotto*, took her Place, and laid the sealed Purse before her, no body knowing the value of the Jewels it contained. The Dukes asked the Bankers of the *Ridotto* aloud, if they would be answerable; the Countess spoke first, and said, that the Purse sealed up would be answerable; the Masks appearing dissatisfy'd at her Word alone, asked the Bankers a second time, if they would be answerable for the Countess, who repeated once again, *that her Money was Standard, and her Purse sealed up would answer for her.* Nevertheless the Masks still refused to play; then the Bankers took the Purse, and retired into another Room, where they open'd it in the Presence of the Jewellers, who examined the Stones, and then sealed it up again with the same Seal, saying aloud, when they came into the *Ridotto*, we answer for the Purse. Upon this, the three Princes masked joined together, and played against the Countess, who won a hundred thousand Ducats, then rose and deliver'd her Purse into the Hands of the Bankers of the *Ridotto*, saying, Gentlemen, you must not part with this, without a Note under my own Hand, and the Sight of my Seal. The Countess being returned home, and entering into her Apartment to undress herself; her Chambermaids were surpris'd to see their Lady come from the *Ridotto* without her

her Jewels, and immediately imagined the Oc- *An. 1702.*
 casion; what confirmed them in the Thought
 that the Countess had been playing, and lost
 them, was the Concern she seemed to be in,
 as she went into her Closet, and the Colour
 of her Face. They read the different Motions
 in her Countenance, created by the passion of
 Gaming, and as she had torn her Headclothes
 and her Gown in several Places by pulling the
 Stones off in Rage and Despair; all this con-
 tributed to give her Women some ill presages
 of the Countess's Fortune. By good luck
 the Count was gone to Bed, before she came
 home, which was at two o' th' Clock in the
 Morning, and having undressed herself, she
 went to Bed without saying any thing to her
 Women. The Women reflecting upon what
 had happened, consulted together, and fore-
 saw on one hand, that if they concealed the
 Loss of so many rich Jewels from the Count,
 it was to be apprehended that they would be
 turned out of Doors; on the other hand, the
 Respect due to their Lady, made them fear
 her Resentment, if they were indiscreet enough
 to discover that to the Count, which she was
 willing to hide. At length they concluded,
 that it was better to run the hazard of the
 Lady's Resentment, than to suffer her to be
 ruined, and to that End, one of them was to
 acquaint the Count privately with it.

The Count being informed of the whole Af-
 fair, thought proper to wait two or three Days
 before he mentioned it, and being a Man of
 Prudence, and very fond of his Lady, whose
 Youth and Beauty had been the principal Mo-
 tives of his Marriage; all these Considerations
 engaged him to use some Management and Ar-
 tifice

An. 1703.  tifice to know from her own Mouth, what was become of her Jewels. He took a proper Time for it, and pretended he had some Occasion for a few Jewels to lend a Lady, who was to appear at a Ball. He asked the Countess for them, who answer'd him variously, first that she had lost the Key of her Trunk, and then that she had given them to her Jeweller to be new set. This did not satisfy the Count, who had been informed of the Truth, and without hesitating, he told her, Madam, you are Young, and I love you too well not to pardon a youthful flight, which has induc'd you to play your Jewels away. I forgive you with all my Heart; but it must be the last time you will be guilty of the same, and assure you if it should happen again, I shall confine you in a Convent for Life: Nevertheless, let me know where the Jewels are, for I am resolv'd to have them again at any Price, and am ready to pay the Money to redeem them. The Countess finding herself so pressed, drew her Seal out of her Pocket, took a Pen and Ink, and wrote a Letter with her own Hand to the Bankers of the *Ridotto*, which the Count carried himself, followed by his Servants with the Money to redeem the Jewels; but was extremely surpris'd, when the Bankers put the Purse of Jewels into his Hands, and gave him a hundred thousand Ducats in Gold, which the Countess had won of the three Princes.

Anno 1703.

The *French*, during this Campaign, took the Advantage afforded by their Superiority, and Prince *Eugene's* Absence, who refused to return into *Italy*, and made themselves Masters of *Governolo* and *Bondanella*. They likewise

wife bombarded *Bersello*, and endeavoured to *Am. 1703.* restrain the Imperialists so close to their Quarters, that they should be obliged to repass the *Po*, either into the *Venetian* or Pope's Territories. Count *Staremberg* who commanded the Emperor's Forces, far from being discouraged, maintained his Post with abundance of Resolution, and defeated the Enterprises of the Duke of *Vandome*, who had an Army of above sixty thousand Men besides Garrisons. The Duke formed a Project which would have intirely ruined the Imperial Army, had it succeeded. He had divided his Troops into several Corps, resolving to attack the Imperialists, at three different Places: But being every where repulsed, he thought of some other Expeditions, which met with the same Success; witness the Siege of *Mirandola*, the joining his Troops with those of the Elector of *Bavaria*, and the little effect of the Bombardment of the City of *Trente*, where he commanded in Person, and was obliged to retreat. The Fortress of *Bersello* surrendered indeed, not by the force of his Arms, but for want of Provision and Subsistence.

The great Projects the *French* had formed in *Italy*, were follow'd by an Event, which abated their Pride, and raised the Hopes of their Enemies; this was the unexpected Change of the Duke of *Savoy*. I had foretold, in the Beginning of these Memoirs, that his Royal Highness would certainly abandon the *French* Interest, to join with the Allies, as soon as a favourable Opportunity offered, which accordingly happened. The Duke of *Vandome*, having received a Letter from Court at his Return from *Trentin*, in which the King ordered

An. 1703. ordered him to disarm the Troops of the Duke of *Savoy*, that General put it in Execution; he sent the Officers as Prisoners of War to *Cremona*, dismounted the Cavalry, and distributed the Horses among the Dragoons, and the common Soldiers were placed among the King's Troops. After this, he ordered a Proclamation to be publish'd throughout the *Milaneze* to this Effect; *That the People of that Dutchy ought to treat the Savoyards as Enemies to the two Crowns for the future, and make War against them.* This Preliminary to a Rupture, was followed by another Resolution, concerted between the Duke of *Vandome* and the Prince de *Vaudemont*, pursuant to which, that Prince had the Command of the Troops encamped at *San Benedetto*, and the Duke of *Vandome* marched with an Army of twelve or fourteen thousand Men toward *Piemont*, to begin the Hostilities against the Duke of *Savoy*. During these Transactions, I received a Letter from Prince *Eugene*, by which he ordered me to repair to the Court of *Turin*, to assist his Royal Highness in taking proper Measures for his Defence, till the Succours design'd him at the Court of *Vienna* were arrived. The first mark of that Prince's Resentment, was by placing a Guard over the Ambassadors of the two Crowns, and confining them to their Hotels. All the *French* who were in the Country were under Arrest, and a Regiment of Cavalry of that Nation which was marching to the Army in *Italy*, received the same Treatment, his own Troops had met with from the *French*. His Highness, to animate the Officers of his Army, and to make them enter into his Resentment, called them

them to Court, and made a Speech to them *An. 1703.*
in the following Terms.

Gentlemen,
I have called you together to acquaint you in what Manner my Officers and Soldiers, your Friends and Comrades, have been arrested, contrary to the good Faith and Assurances given. They have been disarmed like Criminals. You see I am under a Necessity of coming to a Rupture; but am comforted by the Courage and Resolution you have shewn in the last War, and the Assurance I have of your being no less Faithful in this, which I am obliged to undertake in defence of my Liberty and Sovereignty. They all answer'd his Royal Highness, That they were ready to lose the last drop of Blood in his Service. The Duke of Vandome, when he entered the Territories of the Duke of Savoy, sent him a Letter from the King of France, which expressed abundance in few words. Sir, Since Religion, Honour, Alliance, Treaties, and your own Seal are unregarded, I send my Cousin the Duke of Vandome to explain my Sentiments to you, who will grant you four and twenty Hours to consider of it. That General out of Complaisance gave his Royal Highness eight Days, at the Expiration whereof, he sent the Duke of Vandome the following Answer, That he was not intimidated by Threats; that the Indignity offered to his Troops, and a Conduct full of Pride and Contempt which they had observed with regard to himself, had obliged him to think of his own Security; and lastly, that he had no other Overtures to make, or any other Proposals to listen to. The Duke of Vandome upon this marched with his Army to Verceil, and summoned the Governor, the Marquis de Bagnasque, to surrender the Town in 24 Hours;

An. 1703.

Hours; the Marquis answered him with an equal Haughtiness, That he had Orders to defend himself. His Royal Highness had nothing to do at this Juncture, but to prepare for a War, which he did accordingly. He ordered the Militia of the Country to take arms, distributed a vast Number of Commissions to raise new Regiments, and wrote to the Inhabitants of the Valleys, inveterate Enemies to the French, by whom they were always persecuted, to invite them to take arms. This is a Copy of his Royal Highness's Letter.

The Duke of Savoy's Letter to the Inhabitants of the Valleys.

To our dear and well-beloved Subjects of the Valley of Lucerne.

The Duke of Savoy, King of Cyprus, &c.

Dear and Well-beloved,

THE unheard of Violence the French have lately exercised against the Faith of Treaties, and Laws of Nations, by disarming our Troops, who were in their Service in the Milanese, by detaining our Officers Prisoners, and ordering their Troops to march and invade our Dominions, thinking by that means to take possession of them, having deprived us of the Power of resisting so precipitate and unforeseen an Invasion, obliges us to take all those Measures which Prudence and Necessity require for their Defence. We acquaint you with it, being persuaded, that the same Motion, which excited your Zeal and Fidelity for us upon all Occasions in the last War, will inspire you to give us fresh Marks of it in this, which is
of

of far greater Importance. To that end you ought *An. 1703.*
 to form your Companies without Loss of time, as
 you did in the last War, and receive all the
 French Refugees, willing to come into the Val-
 leys, and even invite them to act jointly with you,
 who shall be provided with Subsistence, by one of
 our Commissaries we shall send for that purpose.
 We shall expatiate no longer upon the Reasons
 which ought to invite you. The Support of our
 Dominions, our Glory, and your Safety are de-
 pending. We know it too nearly concerns you, to
 doubt of your Disposition, and utmost Endeavours
 to contribute toward it with that Ardour and Zeal,
 which we ought to expect from all our good and
 faithful Subjects, and pray God to keep you in
 his holy Protection.

Turin, Oct. 5,
 1703.

Signed,

Victor Amadeus.

Besides these Precautions, in Defence of
 the heart of the Country, the Duke of Savoy
 was at work upon foreign Alliances. All
 Europe gave attention to an Event beyond
 Example. They could not comprehend the
 Reasons which induced his most Christian
 Majesty, who always passed for a prudent
 Monarch, to treat a sovereign Prince with
 that Haughtiness and Indignity. His Royal
 Highness soon concluded a Treaty with
 Count d'Aversberg the Imperial Minister, who
 was at that time at Turin, and sent Envoys
 to all the Courts of Europe, to desire Suc-
 cours from those Princes in Alliance with the
 Emperor. His Highness's Envoy at Venice
 made the following Speech to the Doge
 and Senate.

Most

An. 1703.

Most Serene Prince, and most Excellent Lords,

‘ HIS Royal Highness of *Savoy*, my Master, having an high Esteem for your
 ‘ Serenity, and this glorious Republick, has
 ‘ ordered me to represent to you, that *France*
 ‘ upon bare Suspicion, which has no other
 ‘ Foundation, than to serve as a pretence
 ‘ for their Violence, disarmed his Troops on
 ‘ the 29th of *September* last, making all his
 ‘ Officers and Soldiers Prisoners of War, who
 ‘ were in the Army of the two Crowns in
 ‘ *Italy*: a Proceeding, which includes the In-
 ‘ fraction of the most inviolable Law, not
 ‘ only contrary to Faith, but also contrary
 ‘ to the Security of a Treaty; and the bet-
 ‘ ter to conceal their Designs of surprizing
 ‘ and oppressing the States of his Royal High-
 ‘ ness, they made him a specious Offer of
 ‘ exchanging the State of *Milan* for that of
 ‘ his Royal Highness beyond the Mountains,
 ‘ while Orders were given at the same time,
 ‘ for the *French* Troops to invade *Piemont*.
 ‘ A Treament of this Nature has obliged
 ‘ his Royal Highness to take arms to pre-
 ‘ vent the Invasion; and although *France* has
 ‘ deprived him of part of his Forces, his Re-
 ‘ solution still remains to take all Measures
 ‘ requisite in such an Extremity, to oppose
 ‘ the Enterprises of that Crown. Besides the
 ‘ Troops remaining to his Royal Highness,
 ‘ he has raised twelve Regiments of chosen
 ‘ Militia in *Piemont*, and six in *Savoy*, and
 ‘ augmented his Cavalry, Dragoons, and In-
 ‘ fantry, hoping that Heaven will protect so
 ‘ just a Cause, by the great Zeal the Nobility
 ‘ and People of his Dominions express, for
 the

' the Defence of their Prince and Country; *An. 1703.*
 ' and makes no doubt, but the World will
 ' look upon this Event with Horrour, when
 ' they see a Prince, so strenuous in the Inte-
 ' rest of *France*, deserted on a sudden, and ex-
 ' posed to their Fury; an Example, which
 ' ought to open the Eyes of every Power, up-
 ' on their Breach of Faith, and invite them
 ' to stand in a just Defiance of it. Suppose
 ' even that *France* had some Suspicion of a
 ' pretended Treaty with the Allies, this
 ' would not be a Motive sufficient for so ex-
 ' traordinary a Violence. Was it so, what
 ' Prince could ever be in Safety? since the
 ' least Umbrage would be capable of producing
 ' such Attempts, and making the Condition of
 ' their Allies, worse than that of their Ene-
 ' mies. Upon which, I hope, your Serenity
 ' and the most Serene Republick will make
 ' Reflexions worthy of your Prudence.'

Mr. *de Mallerede* was sent into *Switzerland*,
 where he presented several eloquent Memo-
 rials, containing a Plan of the Condition his
 Royal Highness was in, being surrounded on
 all sides by the Armies of *France*, and of the just
 Umbrage the *Cantons* ought to take for their
 Liberty. The Marquis *de Puisieux*, who re-
 sided in this Country on the part of the King
 of *France*, answered these Memorials with a
 Haughtiness and Confidence common to the
 Ministers of that Prince. That you may form
 an Idea of his ridiculous way of reasoning, I
 shall only give you a Part of the Letter he
 wrote to all the *Cantons* in general, in answer
 to the Speech Mr. *de Mallerede* had made to
 the *Canton of Zurich*. ' I undertake, says the

U

' Marquis

An. 1703. ‘ Marquis de *Puisieux*, to make you immediately sensible, that the Designs of the Duke of *Savoy* are as ill-grounded, as the Reasoning of his Minister. Ought you not to agree, that he is a Prince ambitious beyond measure, for disturbing the Tranquillity of his Country, and the Repose his Subjects enjoyed, by renouncing the Advantages he reaped from his Treaties with the two Crowns without reason, whose Alliance made his Provinces plentiful and rich, and for exposing those Provinces to the Confusion and Rage of a War? I say, must he not be blinded by his Ambition, to run to such an Extremity, in hopes of putting those chimerical Projects in execution, which have made him forget the most solemn Treaties, and the nearest Consanguinity? They flatter’d the Duke of *Savoy*, that Prince *Lewis* of *Baden* would send him the Detachment of Troops under his Command, that this Detachment would join that of the Duke of *Savoy*, and that the Imperial Troops in *Italy*, would not only march into *Piemont*, but take possession of the *Milaneze*, of which that Prince was to have the perpetual Government, or rather the Sovereignty. They made him believe, that the Rebels of the *Severnes*, assisted by the *Vaudois*, would carry Fire and Sword into the very heart of *France*, while the Enemies Fleet, taking advantage of the Conspiracy carried on by the Allies, would overthrow the whole Kingdom, and then return to the Assistance of the Duke of *Savoy*, and support him in his vast Undertakings:

‘ But

But all these grand Projects vanished, as *An. 1703.*
 soon as they were formed; it was a fine Dream
 which pleased the Duke of Savoy, and at
 present has only left him the Disquiet of
 having dreamt it. For first of all, Prince
Lewis of Baden, so far from being in a Con-
 dition to detach Troops from his Army, is
 obliged to stand upon the Defensive, since
 the Battle wherein Count *Stirum* was in-
 tirely defeated. The Rebels of the *Sewennes*
 are so inconsiderable, and in so poor a Con-
 dition, that those Wretches hardly deserve
 to be mentioned upon the Subject. The
 Conspiracies excited by the Enemies to the
 two Crowns, have been discovered and
 miscarried, and the Authors have only reaped
 the Shame and Displeasure of having fo-
 mented Confusion and Sedition in vain. In
 short, that *English* and *Dutch* Fleet, which
 was to produce such terrible Effects, has
 destroyed it self, without daring to under-
 take any thing, and is reduced to the last
 Extremity by contrary Winds and Dis-
 eases, &c.

I shall only add this in favour of his
 Royal Highness, that if the Alliances he
 made with those Powers, who are at War
 with *France*, and the Succours he expected,
 passed for a fine Dream, according to
Mr. de Puisieux, which has pleased the Duke
 of Savoy, and only left him the Disquiet of hav-
 ing dreamt it, it must be allowed that this
 Dream was very agreeable and advantageous
 to his Royal Highness, since the raising the
 Siege of *Turin*, and the Defeat of the *French*
 Army were the fruits of it; and it may be
 truly said, that the *Marquis de Puisieux* has

An. 1703. been a bad Interpreter of Dreams. His Highness found himself however at th's time, in a Situation that requ red speedy Assistance, and Count *Staremberg*, who commanded the Imperial Army in the Absence of Prince *Eugene*, ordered a Detachment of fifteen hundred Horse under the Command of General *Visconti*, to march immediately to the Assistance of his Royal Highness; which Detachment was cut off, beat, and dispersed by the Duke of *Vandome*. That General triumphed upon this Action, and wrote the following Letter upon that Subject, to Mr. de *la Closure* Resident of France at Geneva.

S I R,

I Have only time to acquaint you, that Yesterday we routed the two thousand Horse sent by the Germans to the Assistance of the Duke of Savoy. The Defeat was extraordinary. We have five hundred Prisoners, and eight hundred Horses besides the slain, and are in pursuit of the rest on all sides. We had only two Men killed and six wounded; this Affair happened at St. Sebastian.

Signed, LEWIS de VANDOME.

The Imperialists cannot agree in the Advantage the Duke of *Vandome* attributes to himself; he makes no mention of the Body of Cavalry and Infantry under the Command of Mr. de *St. Fremond*, which was met by the former and intirely routed. They assure us besides, that having forced the Corps upon the Mountains, they lost but thirty Men, besides two hundred dispersed or made Prisoners, and moreover, that General *Visconti* having made various Motions in the Territories

stories of *Genoa*, deceived the Duke of *Vandome* at last, and arrived in *Piemont* with his Detachment. The Duke of *Vandome* observing only to execute the Orders of his Court, and to take Advantage of the Weakness of the Duke of *Savoy*, made himself Master of *Villa nova d'Asti*. An. 1704.

Anno 1704.

The Succours General *Visconti* had brought into *Piemont*, were follow'd by others more considerable, commanded by Count *Staremberg* himself, which extremely rejoiced the Duke of *Savoy*; it was a Body of about sixteen thousand Men, who marched sixteen Days, passed several Rivers by forcing the Enemy, and was only stopp'd at the Castle of *Stradella*, and at the Passage of the *Bormia*. The Duke of *Vandome* being come to this first Post, attacked the Dragoons and Cavalry, which form'd the Rear-Guard, but with very little Success. Nevertheless the Prince de *Vaudemont* feasted the most Christian King with that Affair, and told him, *That in twice twenty four Hours, his Majesty would have no Enemies in Italy*. The Prince de *Vaudemont* conceived these fine Hopes, because the Imperialists being pursued on one Side, by the Duke of *Vandome*, and met on the other by the Grand Prior, who was encamped with ten thousand Men at *Alexandria*, would consequently be between two Fires, and entirely defeated; but having passed the *Bormia* after a slight Battle, they arrived at *Canelli*, where they were joined by his Royal Highness, who waited there with a Body of five thousand Horse, and six thousand

An. 1704. Foot. The Duke of *Vandome*, perceiving the Duke of *Savoy* would soon be in a Condition to act, resolved to secure the *Milaneze*, and ordered a Line to be drawn to cover that Dutchy, and *Cazal* to be fortified. His Royal Highness, accompanied by Count *Staremberg*, being arrived in the Army, which was encamped at *Rivo*, consisting of fifty four Squadrons, and thirty Battalions, the Duke of *Vandome* favour'd by a thick Fog, passed the *Po* in the Night with a Resolution to give him Battle. His Army consisted of fourscore Squadrons, and sixty Battalions; but his Royal Highness not judging it proper to come to an Engagement, retired toward *Trin*, at the Sight of the Duke of *Vandome*, who was afraid to attack him, but taking the Advantage of another Motion, made by the Troops of his Royal Highness to march to *Crescentin*, caused his Rear-Guard under the Command of General *Vaubonne* to be attacked by 4000 Horse, where that General was taken Prisoner. Nevertheless the Duke of *Savoy* coming to his Assistance, the French thought proper to retire.

This Campaign was fatal to his Royal Highness; on one side the Duke of *Vandome* took *Vercell*, and on the other the Duke de la *Feuillade* made him Master of *Suza*; the taking of which important Places, exposed the whole Country to the Irruption of the Enemy, which obliged his Highness to cover it by a Line. The Governors who had surrendred them, being accused of Treachery, were prosecuted. The Duke de la *Feuillade* used his utmost Endeavours at the same time, to persuade

suade the Inhabitants of the Valleys of *Piemont* *An. 1704.*
 accept of a Neutrality, offered them on the
 Part of the King; but perceiving this
 only a Snare, refused it upon the Remon-
 strances of Mr. *Vander Meer*, Envoy of their
 High Mightinesses at the Court of *Savoy*, and
 the Minister *Arnaud*. Upon this, *la Feuillade*
 attacked them on all Sides with several
 Bodies of his Army, and entring the Valley
 of *Aoste* made himself Master of it, and by
 this Means joined the Army of the Duke of
Vandome, who had just brought *Turée* to the
 Obedience of his Majesty, the Garrison
 consisting of eleven Battalions, which signali-
 zed themselves in their Defence; but were
 at length taken Prisoners of War. The
 Duke of *Vandome*, having subdued this
 Town, undertook the Siege of *Verrue*, and
 opened the Trenches on the 22d of *October*;
 The Siege of this Place lasted six Months by
 the Bravery of the Governor and his Troops.
 During the Duke of *Vandome's* Progress in
Piemont and *Savoy*, the grand Prior encamped
 with his Army upon the Territories of the
 Republick of *Venice*, where the *French* lived
 at discretion. The Imperial Army, being re-
 tired near *Trente*, intrenched themselves, till
 the Reinforcements arrived to the Assistance
 of the Duke of *Savoy*.

His Royal Highness was never under so great
 a Concern before. He saw all his Towns taken
 from him one after the other, without being
 able to oppose it; and if heroick Constancy
 is a Virtue, that Prince made it shine in its
 full Lustre upon this Occasion. The King
 of *France* having sworn to ruin his Domini-
 ons, vigorously pursued the War of *Savoy*;
 here was the Centre of his principal Strength,

An. 1704. and the chief Employ of his Ministers. Mr. *de Chamillard* suffered the Marshal *de la Feuillade* to want for nothing; and the Duke of *Van-dome* pursued his Majesty's Intentions, with all imaginable Zeal, which was utterly to destroy the Country of a Prince, who had the Courage to defend himself, and oppose his exorbitant Ambition. But though his Royal Highness had the Misfortune of losing his Fortresses on one hand, he had the Satisfaction on the other of parting with them, dear to those who attacked them; and the War of *Savoy* was a fatal Grave to the *French* Troops. If his Royal Highness lost all, he was still in hopes of better Fortune; the Arms of the Allies had been very prosperous in *Bavaria* that Campaign: They had gain'd two famous Battles, which humbled the Pride of his Enemy the Court of *France*, and gave him hopes that Prince *Eugene*, who had signalized himself at *Hockster*, would soon arrive to his Assistance with a powerful Army. Nevertheless the Time of his Royal Highness's Deliverance being not yet come, the following Campaign was not more favourable to him than the preceding, and he found himself reduced to the greatest Extremities.

Anno 1705.

Prince *Eugene* being arriv'd from *Germany*, with a considerable Army to oppose the Progress of the *French*, endeavour'd to pass the *Mincio*; but could not execute his Design. The Duke *de la Feuillade* having attacked *Ville Franche*, that Place with its Castle submitted to the Obedience of his Majesty, and then march'd to besiege *Nice*; which surrendered after little Resistance. But the Castle was so well defended,

fended, that the *French* General was obliged *An. 1705.* to blockade it. The King of *France* being resolved to push the Duke of *Savoy* to the greatest Extremity, and to strip him of his Dominions, ordered his Generals to prepare for the Siege of *Turin*, thinking to intimidate his Royal Highness, and oblige him to implore his Clemency, rather than part with his Capital. But that Prince had made too good a Beginning to retreat; far from having such a Weakness, he appeared more resolute than ever, and disposed himself to submit to the Fortune of War: he applied himself with indefatigable Vigilance, to increase the Fortifications of *Turin*, and to make all Preparations necessary for the Defence of the City, which was his last Rampart, and decided his Destiny. Nevertheless the *French* could not undertake the Siege of *Turin*, till they had made themselves Masters of *Chivas*. The Duke de *Vandome* having possessed the *Po* with his Army, began to besiege it, but the Motions, Prince *Eugene* caused the Imperial Army to make towards the *Milaneze*, having called him on that Side, where his Presence was absolutely necessary, he left the Command of the Siege to the Duke de *la Feuillade*, who met with great Opposition in the Attack of that Post, which proved as fatal to the *French* as the famous Siege of *Ver-rue*. The Duke de *Vandome* being gone to the Assistance of his Brother the grand Prior, was not long without Employ. He disputed the Passage of the *Adda* with Prince *Eugene*, which gave occasion to a bloody Battle between the two Armies at *Cassano*. The following is a Letter Prince *Eugene* wrote

Aug. 1705. wrote to the Duke of *Marlborough* upon that Subject.

Prince *Eugene's* Letter to the Duke of *Marlborough*.

S I R,

Your Highness will excuse me for not writing with my own Hand, which is occasioned by a slight Wound received; your Highness will see by this Relation I send you in haste, what happened yesterday between the two Armies. I shall soon cause *Te Deum* to be sung, to give God Thanks for our Success, which is the more remarkable, because the Enemy's whole Army was engaged, which I was not sensible of before; and upon viewing the Ground where the Enemy was defeated, it seems almost impossible, considering the Advantage of their Situation. According to the Account I just received from the Prisoners, Deserters, and by other means, their Loss is very considerable, and their Confusion was so great, that a Number of their Troops and Baggage were lost in the *Adda*. Our Generals have brought some Standards and Ensigns, beside several Officers and Soldiers taken Prisoners. You may imagine that Affair could not pass without some Loss on our own Side, the Fire being terrible from both Armies. I hope your Highness will do me the Honour to believe, that I am with the utmost Sincerity and Respect, your Highness's most obedient, humble Servant,

Signed,

From the Camp at *Treviglio*, Aug. 17th, 1705.

Eugene of Savoy.

The

The Duke *de la Feuillade*, having at length *An. 1705.* made himself Master of *Chivas*, thought to execute the Project of the Siege of *Turin*. He entred the Plain with the *French Army*, and encamped his left Wing towards the *Venerie*, where he fixed his Quarter, and his right towards the little *Doria*, till he received his Orders from Court. In the mean time he employed himself in raising the Works of *Verrue*, *Tvrée*, and *Nice*. The Duke of *Berwick* being arrived before this last Place, on the 31st of *October*, invested the Castle, and began the Siege, as soon as he had received Artillery and Ammunition necessary for that Expedition. The King of *France* earnestly wished, to have the taking of *Turin* added to his Conquests in *Savoy* and *Piemont*, if this Enterprize could have been executed that Campaign. But considering the great Loss of Men sustained by the Sieges of other Places, which had been well defended, he believed a larger Army than that under the Command of the Duke *de la Feuillade*, and Preparations of greater Importance were necessary: therefore his Majesty thought proper to defer it till the next Campaign, and sent Orders to the Duke *de la Feuillade* to decamp from before *Turin*, and separate his Troops, to the great Joy of his Royal Highness, and the Inhabitants of that Capital.

The Campaign being ended, Prince *Eugene* prepared to go and pass the Winter at the Court of *Vienna*. His Highness having writ to me to come and accompany him in his Journey, I readily consented. The Pleasures at *Turin* were entirely vanished, and

4th. 1705. and the Fear of a Siege, Confusion and Alarms had banished Gallantry and Pleasure from that City. The Ladies, with whom I was formerly acquainted, had left it, and retired to other Places. Nevertheless his Royal Highness desired my Company, and used his Endeavours to engage me; But finding no Enjoyment in that Town, and being glad to repose my self, I took leave of his Royal Highness, and went to Prince *Eugene*, who was employed in regulating the Quarters, and his Highness having left the Command of the Troops to Count *Revent-lan*, we set out for *Vienna*, on the 13th of *January*. At my Arrival, I became acquainted with a Lord in disgrace at the *Englisch* Court, which had obliged him to retire into *Germany*, where he was married. I heard a pleasant Adventure of this Nobleman, which I am going to relate.

This Lord had married a rich Heiress, who was Mistress of more Youth and Beauty, than was sufficient to charm her old Fool of a Husband. His Lordship having drain'd the Remainder of his Strength which a good Constitution had left him, in spite of his Age, when he was first married, he began to despair of a Child by his Lady, which was the chief Motive of his Marriage, in hopes of being the sole Heir to her Estate, having nothing himself, but the Distinction of his Birth. His Lady loved him to excess, notwithstanding his Impotency, which is very uncommon in this Age with Women of Youth and Beauty, who generally seek those Pleasures abroad, which they are deprived of at home. But to come to the purpose; his Lordship

ship one Day in a very gay Humour, said to *An. 1705.*
 his Lady, that only one thing in the World
 troubled him, which was his being without
 hopes of having a Child; and that if it should
 please God to take her away, he should be
 in a most miserable Condition, without Estate
 or Fortune, and loaded with Infirmities, the
 Concomitants of old Age; and therefore ran
 the hazard of dying in an Hospital. His La-
 dy answered him, that nothing was more
 certain, than if she died without Issue, her
 Relations would take possession of the Estate.
 His Lordship said, that he had a long Time
 reflected upon it, and that the Uncertainty
 of Life, and the Greatness of the Troubles
 to which he should be exposed, had obliged
 him to think of a Method to prevent it; and
 looking very tenderly upon her, he said, Ma-
 dam, I see no Remedy but this I am going
 to propose; I am persuaded that your Fidelity
 and Love will be the only Obstacle to be
 removed, without mentioning the shame-
 ful Reluctance I have, in quality of a
 Husband, to propose a thing so unwor-
 thy of us both; but in short, Reason
 ought to yield to Necessity, and Reflexions
 upon Honour and Virtue are unseasonable,
 when the whole is at stake. I advise you
 to choose somebody who can afford you
 what I cannot, and the Pleasure of an Heir,
 will make me forget those Troubles, your
 Infidelity might occasion in a tender Hus-
 band. The Lady chose the Butler who lived
 in the House, and was a handsom well-shaped
 Man. The first Amour which passed between
 them was in the Pantry, where the choicest
 Liquors were employed to recruit lost
 Strength,

An. 1705. Strength, and the Fruits of this new Amour soon appeared. For the Lady soon perceived her self with Child, and acquainted her Lord with it, who commended her Obedience, and the Success of his Advice. But the Butler, who before this Amour used to leave the Keys of his Cellar in the Door, had since kept them in his Pocket, and when he met the Lady in his Office, the Door was always shut. This Lord, according to the *English* Custom, had a Chaplain in his House, who being used to refresh his Lungs sometimes with a Bottle of Wine, visited the Cellar oftner than his Library, and perceived that the Lady was more familiar with the Butler than she had formerly been. One Day, as our Lovers were shut up in the Cellar to divert themselves according to Custom, the Chaplain perceived it, and being willing to be satisfied of the Truth, peeped through the Key-hole, where he saw all that passed between them, and thought it his Duty to acquaint his Lordship with it. He went up stairs to his Lord, and told him all that he had seen. My Lord, says he, my Office, the Honour of your Family, and the Respect I have for your Person, engage me to desire that you would take care to interrupt a Commerce in its Infancy, which your Lady carries on with the Butler. The Lord, who knew the Affair, and was unwilling it should be divulged, endeavoured to persuade him that his Eyes had been deceived; but the Chaplain, who thought himself as infallible as the Pope, persisted in it, which obliged his Lord to let him into the Secret, left

left he should divulge it out of Revenge, *An. 1705.*
 if he continued to persuade him that his Eyes
 had been deceived. Therefore he began, and
 told the Chaplain what Reasons he had to
 consent to that Intrigue, adding, that he al-
 lowed the Butler two hundred Guineas *per*
Annum, as an Acknowledgment for his Ser-
 vices. The Chaplain, being a tall handsom
 Man, in the Flower of his Age, and capable
 of performing his Duty near a Lady, per-
 haps better than the Butler, and was tempt-
 ed more by Interest than the Charms of her
 Beauty, reply'd to his Lordship, that he was
 amazed she had address'd herself to such a Fel-
 low; that if she had honoured him with her
 Confidenc in that Affair, he would have been
 satisfied with a hundred Guineas *per Annum*,
 which would have saved his Lordship some-
 thing considerable; and besides he would al-
 ways have prayed for the Prosperity of his
 Family.

Anno 1706.

The Duke of *Vandome* being gone to the
 Court of *France* during the Winter, they
 formed a Project to drive the Imperialists out
 of *Italy* at the opening of the Campaign. To
 that End they made great Preparations, sent
 fresh Troops, and completed their Regiments.
 They furnished Magazines at *Castiglione delle*
Stivere, and gave out in the *French* Camp,
 that they only waited the return of the Duke
 of *Vandome* to put the Project in Execution,
 taking the advantage of the Absence of the
 Troops,

An. 1706. Troops, which were expected from *Germany*, to reinforce the Imperial Army. And indeed the Duke of *Vandome* being arrived at *Milan*, after some Conversation with the Prince de *Vaudemont* and the Duke de la *Feuillade*, gathered his Army together at *Castiglione delle Stivere*, and marched toward *Calcinato* in the Night, with the Resolution of giving the Imperialists Battle. The following is a Letter wrote from the Duke of *Vandome's* Camp, giving the Particulars of that Battle, which was fought on the 19th of *April*.

ALL our Troops having received private Orders to leave their Quarters immediately, and repair to the General Rendezvous, appointed near *Castiglione delle Stivere*, on the 18th of this Month, we found 58 Battalions and 67 Squadrons. The Duke of *Vandome* having reviewed the Army when it was formed, marched the Night following towards *la Fossa Seriola*, or the Canal de *Lonato*. The 19th at Day-break, he pushed the Advance-Guard of the Imperialists, consisting of sixty Horse, beyond the Canal; And a Dragoon, who was taken Prisoner, reported that the Enemy was encamped with three thousand Horse, and eleven thousand Foot, the Right at *Monte Chiaro*, and the Left at *Calcinato*, and were ignorant of our March. Upon this Report, the Duke de *Vandome* ordered the Army to pass over the Canal, by several Bridges which they had made in haste. And being upon the March with

with the Avant-Guard, towards the Bridge An. 1706.
 of St. Mark, upon the *Chiese*, he detach'd
 two hundred Horse to take possession of a
 Hill near the Village of *Calcinato*, but the
 Imperialists perceiving it at Sun rising, im-
 mediately ordered all their Cavalry upon the
 same Hill, and ranged them in order of Bat-
 tle, which obliged our two hundred Horse
 to retire. This however did not alter the
 Duke of *Vandome's* Design, and as the great-
 est part of his Infantry had passed the Canal,
 with two Brigades of Cavalry, and five Re-
 giments of Dragoons, he thought proper
 to attack the Enemy upon the Hill, be-
 fore they could be joined by their Infantry,
 who were three Leagues off, near *Monte*
Chiario. But eight Battalions arrived before
 we could begin the Attack, who posted
 themselves near their Cavalry. Our Dra-
 goons and two Brigades of Infantry fell first
 upon the Enemy, and soon put their Right
 Wing in Disorder. We met with greater
 Resistance from their Left, in so much that
 some of our Squadrons, making in all five
 hundred Horse, were at first repulsed with
 a great deal of Vigour by the Enemy. But
 being at length supported by fresh Troops,
 the Enemies left us Masters of the Field of
 Battle, and passed over the Bridge of St.
 Mark, from whence they retired towards
Rezato: Six of our Battalions pursued them
 closely over the Bridge, and Count *Alber-*
goti was likewise commanded on that Side,
 with all our Cavalry, and great part of the
 Infantry. We took *Calcinato* at the same
 Time, where the Enemy had left some
 Troops, and Count *Abergoti* having passed
 the

An. 1706. the *Chiefe* with his Men over the Stone-
 Bridge of *St. Mark*, had divers Skirmishes
 with the Enemy beyond that River. The
 Loss they have sustained in the Battle, is said
 to amount to three thousand Men, wound-
 ed and taken Prisoners; we have taken, be-
 sides six Pieces of Cannon, four and twenty
 Ensigns and ten Standards with some Ammu-
 nition; But have also lost a great num-
 ber of Men on our Side, particularly sever-
 al Officers of Note, among whom are the
 Marquis *de Heron*, who was killed by a
 Musket-shot, the Marquis's *St. Germain*,
Beaupre, and *Bellabre* are among the wound-
 ed. Although this Action had not all the
 Lustre given it by the *French*, the Affairs
 of the Imperialists were a little in disorder by
 it. Prince *Eugene* upon his Arrival endea-
 vour'd as much as possible to remedy it, but
 the Affair was over, and the Duke of *Vandome*
 would not have escaped so cheap, if
 he had not taken the Opportunity of his
 Absence. The *French* nevertheless triumph'd
 greatly, and considered that Advantage, as
 a Step to the taking *Turin*, which was in-
 vested by the Duke *de la Feuillade* on the 14th
 of *May*. The Duke of *Savoy* who had long
 expected it, took all imaginable Precautions
 for a vigorous Defence. He immediately
 posted his Cavalry near *de Veillane*, and en-
 camped his Infantry in a very advantageous
 Post, and well intrenched, between the Mar-
 quis *de St. Thomas's* Country-House and *Tu-
 rin*. The Duke of *Vandome* on his Side,
 used his utmost Endeavour to prevent Prince
Eugene from passing the *Adige*, whose De-
 sign was to come to the Duke of *Savoy's* As-
 sistance.

sistance. The Duke de la Feuillade proceeded, and opened the Trenches before *Turin*, in the Night between the second and third of *June*, and before he threw Bombs into the Town, which is the most dismal Spectacle belonging to a War, he sent a Compliment to his Royal Highness by Mr. de Marignan, followed by a Trumpet, who told the Prince, that the King permitted the Dutcheßes and Ladies of the Court to retire where they pleased, and that he would grant them an Escort and Passports for that Purpose. The Duke of Savoy answered him, that he thanked his Majesty for his Complaisance, and the Duke de la Feuillade for his Civility, but believed that neither the Dutcheßes nor himself had any thing to fear. Mr. de Marignan being returned with this Answer, the Duke de la Feuillade ordered his Bombardiers to do their Duty, and then the Mortars began to play. The Besiegers continued to carry on their Works, and their Attacks, and the Besieged defended themselves by a terrible fire of all their Artillery with a surprising Resolution. The 14th of *June* the Duke de la Feuillade having a Conference with the Marquis de Chambrante, left him the Management of the Siege with 36 Battalions and 52 Squadrons, and passing the Po himself with an Army of 58 Squadrons, and 18 Battalions, went to *Quiers* with an Intent to carry away two thousand Men belonging to his Royal Highness, intrenched at that Place, who threw themselves into *Turin* upon his Approach. That General marched from thence to *Montcaillier*, where his Royal Highness was posted with a Body of four thousand Horse, and imagined that Prince out of a

An. 1706. Principle of Courage would have waited his Arrival; but it being as glorious in War to retreat upon an inequality, as to attack upon an equality, the Duke of Savoy marched his Cavalry towards *Coni*. The Night before, the two Dutcheffes, to avoid the horrors of War, were gone thither for Refuge from *Turin*. The Duke *de la Feuillade*, finding he had retreated, stopped at *Carmagnole*, and made himself Master of the Place. After this Conquest, he marched with his Army towards *Asti*, which submitted without difficulty; the Castle was more resolute, and the Duke *de la Feuillade* perceiving the Governor was resolved to defend himself, caused necessary Dispositions to be made for the Siege. After the reduction of *Asti*, the Duke *de la Feuillade* had only *Quierasco* remaining, to make himself Master of all *Piemont*. The Siege of *Turin* being carried on, the Besieged made three Sallies, the first on the 21st of the Month, the second on the 22d, and the third the same Night, by the Light of a terrible Fire from all their Artillery. They made three Sallies more on the 27th and 30th of *June*, and one the 1st of *July*, which proved fatal to the Besieged, by reason of the Number killed; they had forty Pieces of Cannon which thundered against the Besiegers, and the Enemy battered the Place with a hundred. The Besieged made excellent use of their Mortars, by throwing Stones, which destroyed abundance of Men. The Bravery and Experience of Count *de Taux*, a German General, to whom his Royal Highness had trusted the defence of *Turin*, and

and the Intrepidity of Mr. *de la Roche Dan-^{An. 1706.}nery*, a *Savoyard*, who commanded in the Citadel, contributed much to this vigorous Resistance; but as no Fortrefs in the World is impregnable, without some Relief, His Royal Highness placed his Hopes in Prince *Eugene*, whom he looked upon as his Deliverer; in which he was not mistaken; for that Prince having received the Auxiliary Troops he expected, formed the most glorious Project imaginable to come to the Assistance of his Royal Highness, and executed it with such Capacity and Diligence, that after passing four great Rivers, forcing the Enemy in their Intrenchments, crossing the Country of several *Italian* Princes, making four and thirty Marches successively with one Army, and all warlike Materials, which followed it through Defiles and Roads almost impracticable, always in sight of the Enemies Army, he arrived at length to the Relief of *Turin*.

If it was possible to express the Joy of his Royal Highness, this would be a proper Place to mention it: But that Joy was not yet at its full height, being allayed with Fear, by the Consideration of a dangerous Enterprize, the Success of which was uncertain. The Army of an Enemy superior in Number, was to be attacked in Intrenchments, bordered with a vast quantity of Artillery, who expected us in those Posts, well fortified and provided for Defence. The King of *France*, who had conceived a high Esteem for the Duke of *Vandome* by his Conduct in *Italy*, and who would not have recalled him, only to send him into *Flan-
ders*,

An. 1706. ders, where his Presence was necessary to repair the Misfortunes which succeeded the battle of *Ramelly*, makes his *Elogium* in the Patent sent to recal him. His Majesty had no less Esteem for the Duke of *Orleans*, whom he had sent into *Italy*, and was of Opinion the Presence of that Prince of the Blood, would excite an Emulation in his Troops, and animate them with fresh Zeal and Courage. But before I come to the Attack of the Enemy, I will give you a Copy of the two Patents dispatched by the King, one for the Duke of *Vandome*, and the other for the Duke of *Orleans*, which are conceived in Terms, answerable to the usual Pride of the Court of *France*. The following is that for the Duke of *Vandome*.

LEWIS, &c.

“ Although the continual Progress of
 “ **A** our Armies in *Italy*, under the
 “ Command of our wellbeloved Cousin the
 “ Duke of *Vandome*, since the opening of
 “ the Campaign 1702, when we intrusted
 “ him with the Command of our Troops,
 “ seemed to invite us to leave him the Care
 “ of finishing that War; nevertheless, the
 “ necessity of placing him instantly at the
 “ Head of our Armies in *Flanders*; (a Chief
 “ in whom the Officers and Soldiers place
 “ their Confidence, and who renews that
 “ Spirit of strength and boldness in the
 “ Troops, so natural to the French Nation)
 “ And the Knowledge we have, that no one
 “ is more capable of answering our Expecta-
 “ tion,

tion, than our said Cousin, has determined *An. 1706.*
 us to recal him from *Italy*, to give him
 the Command of our Armies in the Ne-
 therlands, being perswaded that his Service
 will be more useful, and that in what
 Country soever he shall make War, it will
 be with the same Glory as in *Italy*, there-
 fore we appoint him, &c.

The Substance of the Duke of Orleans's Patent.

LEWIS, &c.

TO all whom these Presents shall con-
 cern, greeting; having thought
 proper to give unto our dear and well-be-
 loved Cousin the Duke of *Vandome*, the
 general Command of our Armies in *Flan-
 ders*, and it being necessary to appoint a
 Chief in his room, to take the general
 Command of our Armies in *Italy*, we have
 resolved to send our most beloved Nephew,
 the Duke of *Orleans*; as well to answer his
 ardent Desire of being at the head of our
 Troops, and to signalize himself to our
 Glory and the general Good of the State,
 as because we acknowledge, besides the
 height of his Judgment and those Sentiments
 worthy of the Greatness of his Birth, he
 has acquired by his Care and Application,
 the Experience and Talents, necessary for
 the Command of our Troops, having made
 it sufficiently appear in that of our Caval-
 ry, which he has exercised with all the Abi-
 lity of a great General. We have farther con-
 sidered, that by the respect which the Peo-

An. 1706. " ple of the Army will have for his Person,
 " the Joy of obeying his Orders, the Desire
 " of being known to him, of pleasing him,
 " and distinguishing themselves before him,
 " exciting Emulation in them, and animat-
 " ing their Courage and Zeal, every one will
 " more earnestly endeavour to perform his
 " Duty, which must very much contribute
 " to the Success of our Armies under his
 " Conduct. For these Reasons, &c.

Nevertheless, the ardent Desire the Duke of Orleans had signified of seeing himself at the head of the King's Armies, to signalize his Valour, to make himself useful to the Glory of his Majesty, and the Good of the State, and what is still more, his Ability of a grand General in commanding the Troops, did not prevent Prince Eugene from attacking his Intrenchments. The Troops being joined, we passed the Po, between Carignan and Montcallier, and presuming the French would abandon the Post they possessed upon the Mountain to reinforce their Army, the Count de Santena had Orders to stay beyond the River with a considerable Body of Troops and Ammunition to throw himself into Turin, and provide for that City. In the mean time an Incident happen'd, which was a Prelude to the defeat of the French Army before Turin. We received Advice that thirteen hundred Mules were gone from Suza, with an Escort, and our Army being encamped at that Time near Doire, the Duke of Savoy immediately ordered General Visconti to pass the Ford of Elpignan, with a Detachment of Cavalry, drawn from
 the

the first Line of the Left Wing; the Marquis *de Langalerie* had Orders to pass it below *Pianesse*, with another Body of Cavalry, drawn from the second Line of the same Wing, by which means their Escort was cut off. Mr. *Bonal*, who commanded it, was attacked, and the Regiment of *Chatillon* routed, 800 laden Mules were the Price of the Victory, and we became Masters of the rest in the Castle of *Pianesse*. A Booty so considerable animated the Generals, and raised the Courage of the Soldiers. His Royal Highness and Prince *Eugene* were now in a Condition to attack the Enemy with their own Weapons, the Mules had brought Money to pay their Troops, and Ammunition for the Engagement. We then passed the *Doire*, the Right of our Army extending toward *Pianesse*, and the Left toward *la Venerie*. His Royal Highness at the Sight of *la Venerie*, a Country Seat which had always been his chief Delight, entertained some Hopes of recovering his Dominions, though the Duke of *la Feuillade* had boasted that this Prince would see it no more. It was proclaimed throughout the whole Army, that they were to engage the next Day; and if the Eagerness of the Soldiers is an Omen of Success, it sufficiently appear'd upon this Occasion. The Imperialists exasperated that the Duke of *Vandome* had attacked them at *Calcinato* with so great a Majority, were animated with a thirst of Revenge, and breathed nothing but the defeat of their Enemies. The Troops of his Royal Highness were warmed by that noble Zeal, which carries Subjects, who

An. 1706. are affectionate to their Prince, through the greatest Dangers, when their Glory and Liberty are at Stake. The *French* Camp was disposed in such a Manner, as to have *Stura* on their Right, the *Doire* on their Left, and the Convent of the Capuchins in the Center; they had very good Intrenchments, and were well supported by several fortified *Cassines*. His Royal Highness and Prince *Eugene* ranged their Infantry in eight Columns, with the Grenadiers at the Head; the Artillery was placed in Order among the Infantry; The Cavalry of the first Line divided into six Columns, and that of the second into Brigades, was to follow the Infantry. In this Order they marched to the Enemy, the Right coasting upon the border of the *Doire*, the Left upon that of the *Stura*. The *French* at the approach of our Army, played their Artillery, consisting of forty Pieces of Cannon, whose continual Fire might discourage the bravest Soldier; but the Intrepidity and Valour of our Troops made them look Danger in the Face, and they began the Attack with surprising Resolution. When we came within half Cannon-shot we ranged in Order of Battle, and every one taking his Post assigned him, our Artillery began to play. The Brigades of Infantry were disposed in such a Manner, that the Cavalry could pass between the Intervals, which was of very great Service in the heat of the Action. All things being ready, we marched to the Attack; the Infantry, with Firelock upon their Shoulder, marched directly to the Intrenchments, where the Fire of the Musketeers began, who would have repulsed the Left, which

which was for some Time exposed alone, *An. 1706.*
 through the inequality of the Ground, had not Prince *Eugene* hastened thither, and put himself at the Head of the Battalions with Sword in hand, and forced the Intrenchments in a Moment; the Duke of *Savoy* having done the same in the main Body, and the Right charging at the same Time, we became Victorious on all Sides. Then the Cavalry advanced, and passing between the open Intervals, entered the Field of Battle, where nothing appear'd but Slaughter, Disorder and Confusion. Some endeavour'd to fly, others begged Quarter and surrender'd themselves Prisoners. Conquerors never had more occasion to exercise their Clemency. The Gleanings of the *French* Army having left the Field of Battle, passed on the other Side the *Po*, and his Royal Highness enter'd in Triumph into his Capital, where he was received with a discharge of the Artillery and the Acclamations of the People; so did Prince *Eugene*, who was deemed the Heroe of the Country, and the Restorer of their Liberty. I shall not enter into a detail of what that glorious Day cost the *French*. By the Loss of this Battle they lost all the Conquests they had made in *Italy*, *Savoy* and *Piemont*, which had cost immense Sums; I shall say nothing of the Rout of a numerous and flourishing Army, which will never be re-established, and only leaves his Majesty the horrid Remembrance of a fleeting Grandeur, which had made all *Italy* tremble, seeing himself at present subdued by the Duke of *Savoy*, who is not his most powerful Enemy. The following is the Duke of Orleans's

An. 1706. *leans's Letter to the King of France, upon raising the Siege of Turin, and the Defeat of his Army.*

The Duke of Orleans's Letter to the King of France.

Sire,

WHAT we foresaw has just happened, Marfin's Advice prevailed, but that Advice has proved fatal to your Majesty's Army. He would stay in the Intrenchments contrary to my Opinion, and that of most of the other Generals, which was to leave a Body of Troops to guard the Works, and to march out of our Intrenchments to meet the Duke of Savoy and Prince Eugene. We were superior in Number, and our united Forces promised us Success. What could be expected from an Army of 96 Battalions, and a hundred and thirty Squadrons, who had Lines to guard six Leagues in Length, but a total Defeat, when it was attacked and forced by the Enemy's whole Army; which accordingly happened. Marfin has prevailed, at the Expence of your Majesty's Glory, and the Ruin of your Army, by an Order signed by your own Hand, which he produced, signifying that I ought to conform my self to his Opinion. I obeyed, but not without Regret, and if I must say it, in Despair; since I foresaw the Misfortunes which have been the Consequence of his Obstinacy: It seemed even that God was willing to punish him, as being alone answerable for the Event, which occasions the Siege of Turin to be raised, and the Loss of all your Majesty's Conquests in Italy. The horrid Discontent of that unhappy Day gives me more Pain than my Wounds, and, if I must say it, the Grief of having the Command of an Army in Chief, which had Orders to obey Marfin, is still greater. Sire, &c.

The Duke of Orleans.

Sept. 8, 1706.

The

The Siege of *Turin* being raised, his Royal Highness and Prince *Eugene* wrote to the Powers in Alliance, to communicate the signal Victory they had obtained. Count *Harrach*, Mareschal de Camp, was sent to the Emperor. Baron *Hohendorf*, Aid de Camp General to Prince *Eugene*, to the Queen of *England*, to the *States-General*, and to the Duke of *Marlborough*. The Count de *Verrue* to *Genoa*, and to the *Dutchess* of *Savoy*. The following are the Letters of his Royal Highness and Prince *Eugene* to the *States-General*. An. 1706.

His Royal Highness of *Savoy's* Letter to the *States-General* of the United Provinces. Wrote from *Turin*, the 8th of September, 1706.

High and mighty Lords,

Heaven having been pleased to grant us a complete Victory over our Enemy's Army, one of our principal Cares is to communicate it to your High Mightinesses; you will be informed of the Particulars of that great Event, by the Baron de *Hohendorf*, and the *Marquis de Bourg*, to whom we leave the Recital, designing by this Letter, only to give you a Testimony of our sincere Acknowledgment of the Generosity with which you were pleased to assist us in our Extremity, and has so much contributed to our Deliverance, and that of our Dominions, which we shall always continue to sacrifice with the same Zeal, for the good of the common Cause.

This would require the Body of *Hessians* in *Italy*, to stay this Winter, by which means we may be certain of soon finishing the War, according to the desire of your High Mightinesses. Although
th:

An. 1706. the Motives are too strong, not to expect your speedy Assistance, we cannot forbear asking it instantly of your High Mightinesses; and relying upon what the Marquis du Bourg will more fully represent on our part upon that Subject, we wish you the most complete Happiness, and shall always be more than any other, High and Mighty Lords, your most affectionate Friend to command,

Signed,

Victor Amadeus.

Prince Eugene's Letter to the States-General,
from Turin, the 8th of September, 1706.

High and Mighty Lords,

THE Bearer of this will give your High Mightinesses an exact Relation of the Defeat of the Enemy's Army under Turin, and of the Siege of that Capital being raised. The Troops of your High Mightinesses had so great a Share in this Action, that I thought it my Duty to acquaint you with it. The Generals, Officers, and Soldiers of those Troops signalized themselves, and your High Mightinesses have the Honour of assisting the Army of his Imperial Majesty, and his Royal Highness, at a Time they were ready to be overpowered by the Superiority of the Enemy. Your High Mightinesses will permit me to return you Thanks and to rejoice with you upon our Success, which will certainly contribute to the Security and Repose of Europe; assuring you, that no body is

with

with more Respect, your High Mightiness's most *An. 1706.*
obedient humble Servant,

Signed,

Eugene of Savoy.

The following is the Answer of the States-General to his Royal Highness of Savoy's Letter.

Their High Mightiness's Letter to his Royal Highness of Savoy, on the 22d of September, 1706.

Most Serene Duke,

THE Joy we have felt upon several Instances of Success in this Campaign, has hitherto been blended with Sorrow and Trouble, by the Remembrance of the Danger your Royal Highness and his Dominions were exposed to, which deprived us of the Satisfaction we should otherwise have enjoyed. But, thank God, we are at length delivered from that Uneasiness, by the great and glorious Victory, with which the divine Goodness has been lately pleased to crown your Resolution, which you have so obligingly communicated to us, and we heartily acknowledge. Your Royal Highness's Letter, and the Place alone from whence it is dated, was sufficient for us to comprehend the Importance of that memorable Event; but the Recital of it by Baron de Hohendorf, has given us a more just and agreeable Idea of that Day, which we desire and wish may soon put your Royal Highness into the Possession of all your Dominions as well as your Capital, and that it may serve you as an eternal Mark of Glory, due to your Courage

An. 1706 rage and Resolution. We congratulate your Royal Highness with Hearts filled with Joy, upon this fortunate Success, so advantageous to your own and the Publick Affairs: And moreover we express a greater Joy at your Satisfaction with our Assistance; we granted it heartily, and it should have been greater, if our Strength had permitted; being persuaded, nothing too much can be done for so good and faithful an Ally. Therefore we shall deliberate and consult with her Britannick Majesty without delay, touching your Desire that the Hessian Troops may stay in Italy this Winter. Nevertheless, we shall do all that can be done, and wish nothing more than to give your Royal Highness farther and more convincing Proofs of our most inviolable Esteem for your Person, Friendship, and heroick Virtue. We desire you would be persuaded of this, as well as of the Ardour and Sincerity of our Wishes for your Prosperity, and of the Truth with which we are, &c.

The States-General sent the following Answer to Prince Eugene.

A Letter from the States-General to Prince Eugene of Savoy.

WE thank your Highness for communicating to us, by your own Letter and Baron Hohendorf, the Defeat of the Enemy's Army in Piemont, and the raising the Siege of Turin. We heartily congratulate You upon your Success, so advantageous to the Publick, to which your Vigilance and Valour has so greatly contributed. The Expedition with which your Highness marched toward the Enemy, the Difficulties you surmounted,

mounted, which seemed unfurmountable, and the *An. 1706.*
 Prudence and Courage, with which you attacked
 and beat the Enemy in their Intrinchments, will
 raise an everlasting Monument to your Glory.
 We are exceeding glad to hear that the Troops
 we sent your Highness have done their Duty, and
 deserved your Approbation in so great an Action.
 When we sent them, we were entirely persuaded,
 that they could not be more usefully employed than
 under the Conduct of so expert a General. The
 Event has justified our Persuasion, as what is
 past was the Foundation of it. We pray God
 more and more to bless your Highness's Under-
 takings, and hope you are persuaded, that no bo-
 dy can be with more Esteem and Sincerity, your
 Highness's, &c.

To diminish the Sorrow which the Defeat
 of the French Army had occasioned at that
 Court, and all over the Kingdom, they great-
 ly magnified the Advantage which Count
 Medavi had gained in the Plain of Guidizole
 and Medolo, over the Troops under the Com-
 mand of the hereditary Prince of Hesse Cassel.
 But those who were not blind, did not be-
 lieve it; by comparing the Progress which
 followed that Victory, with the fatal Conse-
 quences which attended the raising the Siege
 of Turin. All the Places in Savoy and Pie-
 mont, which cost the Duke of Vandome, the
 Duke de la Feuillade and other French Gene-
 rals who conquered them, so dear, surrende-
 red without any Trouble; Chivras, Ivree, Ver-
 teil, Novare, &c. were reduced to the Obe-
 dience of his Royal Highness their Sovereign,
 at the Approach of the victorious Army.

An 1706. The Duke of *Savoy* and Prince *Eugene*, taking
 the advantage of the Success of their Arms,
 entred the *Milaneze*, and were received in
 Triumph into that Capital with the Accla-
 mations of the People, who cried, *Long live*
the Emperor, *Long live King Charles*. Prince
de Vaudemont, in the utmost Despair, that he
 could not oppose the Torrent of these two
 Princes Conquests, who were favoured with
 the People's Inclination, had abandoned *Milan*
 upon their Approach, and retired to *Pizzig-
 hitone* near Count *Medavi*. Nothing but
 Confusion appear'd on the conquer'd Side,
 and it is to be feared that the two Crowns
 will lose all their Conquests in *Italy* by that
 Revolution. In the Evening after the Bat-
 tle, the *French*, who stayed with their Maga-
 zine of Bombs, set them on fire, which cau-
 sed a sort of Earthquake, the most terrible
 which had ever been seen. Nevertheless,
 8000 Bombs were preserved, and brought in-
 to his Royal Highness's Arsenal. The Pea-
 sants took Arms, and attacked the *French*
 Troops upon the Hills, and revenged them-
 selves for a Part of the Evil they had suffer-
 red. The *Vaudois*, having fallen upon the
 Rear-Guard of the Gleanings of the *French*
 Army, who were retiring into *Dauphiné*,
 made a very great Slaughter amongst them.
 We found 300 thousand Crowns in Money
 at *Yveré*, and the Eve of the Battle, we had
 already taken in the Castle of *Pianesse* two
 Millions and a half of Gold and Silver in Spe-
 cie, which the 1300 Mules had brought for the
 Payment of their Army. This came very for-
 tunately for the Payment of the Troops of
 his

his Royal Highness, who was largely rewarded by the Defeat of his Enemies, and other Advantages, for the Loss his Dominions had sustained; and revenged at the same time, for the ill Treatment he had received from the Court of *France*. If this Campaign was so very prosperous to this Prince, it was no less so to the Allies in *Flanders* and *Spain*, which gives him reason to hope that the *French* will be driven out of *Italy*, without ever being capable of returning.





THE SECRET INTRIGUES

OF THE

DUKE of SAVOY,

*Containing a faithful Relation of the
ill Treatment of Mr. de Philip-
peaux, the French Ambassador,
at the Court of Turin.*



AS the Death of *Charles the Second* King of *Spain*, was an Event that would infallibly kindle a War in *Italy*, especially in the *Milanese*, all *Europe* waited to see what Steps would be taken by *Victor Amadeus* Duke of *Savoy*. The Houses of *Austria* and *Bourbon* had equally an Advantage in having the Duke in their Interest, which his Royal Highness was so sensible of, that he said to his first Minister the Marquis of *St. Thomas*, *I have*
now

now a very favourable Opportunity of procuring *As. 1706.*
considerable Advantages to my Family. And
 indeed Philip the fifth was no sooner acknow-
 ledged King of *Spain*, than he demanded *Ma-*
ry Louisa Gabrielle, youngest Daughter of the
 Duke of *Savoy*, in Marriage, who could not
 well refuse such an Alliance; and all things
 being agreed, the Marriage was accordingly
 celebrated at *Barcelona*, the third of *Novem-*
ber, 1701. His eldest Daughter had been
 contracted some Years before to the Duke of
Burgundy, presumptive Heir to the Crown
 of *France*, and this double Alliance was there-
 fore very advantageous to the Duke of *Savoy*,
 which placed his Daughters upon two of the
 most powerful Thrones in *Europe*.

This Marriage was succeeded by a Treaty
 signed between the Kings of *France*, *Spain*,
 and the Duke of *Savoy*; by which his Roy-
 al Highness engaged to furnish the two Kings
 with ten thousand Men in defence of the
Milanese, and to grant free Passage through
 his Dominions to the *French* Troops sent into
Italy; and as an Equivalent they gave him
 the Command of their Armies in *Lombardy*,
 besides a large Subsidy, with other Advan-
 tages required by his Royal Highness.

It seemed as if these Dispositions would
 create some Uneasiness at the Imperial Court;
 but *William* the Third, King of *England*, one
 of the most refined Politicians of the last Age,
 always assured the Emperor, that the Duke
 of *Savoy's* late Engagements ought not to
 alarm him, from a Persuasion that he might
 be brought into his Interest. The Imperial
 Troops had already entered the *Milanese*, and
 made some Progress, when the Duke of *Sa-*

An. 1706. *vey* went into the Field; the Troops that Prince was to furnish joined the Army of the two Crowns very late, and his Royal Highness appeared at the Head of them, but toward the latter End of *July*. The Campaign was not quite ended before the Duke demanded of the King of *France* a much larger Subsidy. He imagined if he was refused This, he had an Opportunity of disengaging himself from the Interest of his Son-in-law, to embrace that of the Emperor, because the King of *England* always promised his Royal Highness that he would join the *Monferrat* to his Dominions; but this Attempt did not succeed, for his most Christian Majesty agreed to what was desired.

While the Duke of *Savoy* assured the Courts of *France* and *Spain*, that he was inviolably attached to their Interests, and gave free Passage to the *French* Troops through his Dominions, he excused himself in this Proceeding to the Imperial Court, and wrote a Letter to King *William*, giving an account of his Conduct in the following Terms, *That it was against his Inclination, he suffer'd the French Troops to pass through his Dominions into the Milanese; but was unfortunately constrained to it by the Situation of his Country.*

Though the Duke was ever so much inclined to favour the Interest of the Emperor and King *William*, it is impossible to accuse him of the want of Courage when any Danger offered, while the Army of the two Crowns was under his Command: the King of *France* even did him that Justice in a Letter he wrote to the Pope; *his natural Valour*, says that Monarch, *appeared upon different Occasions, and*

it had been well if he had exposed himself less, provided he executed the Conditions of the Treaty more religiously.

The Duke was accused of informing the Emperor of the *French* and *Spaniards* Designs; an Accusation of the greatest Indignity to a Sovereign; I am not certain whether it was altogether ill-founded, but it is too true, that he took little care to justify himself, when a *Piemontese* Officer, trained up near his own Person, and honoured with his Secrets, was taken by a *French* Party, and brought to the Camp, being found in Conference with some *German* Officers.

Prince *Vaudemont*, Governor of the *Milanese*, held a private Council with the Duke of *Savoy*, and other Generals of the Army, wherein an Enterprize against *Mantua* was resolved upon, the Execution whereof depended upon the Secrecy; the next Day Prince *Vaudemont* marched to execute the Design, but was not gone above two Leagues from the Army, before the Duke of *Savoy* dispatched two Couriers in different Roads, by whom he acquainted him with some Reflexions he had made upon that Enterprize, and one of the Couriers being taken by the Imperialists, Prince *Vaudemont's* Project was prevented by Prince *Eugene*. The Duke acknowledged his Imprudence upon this Occasion, and promised to be more cautious for the future.

While the Duke of *Savoy* was at the Head of the Army of the two Crowns, he always kept a Correspondence at the Courts of *Vien-
na* and *London*, where his Ministers still resided, under the Pretence of some particular
Y 4 Affairs,

Affairs, that personally regarded themselves, which increased the Suspicions of the Court of *France*.

The Campaign of the Year 1702, was not yet ended, before the Duke of *Savoy* led his Troops into *Piemont*, notwithstanding the Instances of the *French* and *Spanish* Generals to the contrary, who represented the Necessity of having his Forces join'd to their own upon account of the Superiority of the *Germans*. After his Return to *Turin*, he represented the Smalness of the Subsidies to his most Christian Majesty, and desired fresh ones, which were granted him. *France* was not insensible of the Intrigues of the Duke, or of the Solicitations made him to break his Engagements with the two Crowns; nevertheless she dissembled her Resentment, in hopes that the Honour and real Interest of that Prince could not suffer him to expose himself to the Dangers into which the new Party proposed would infallibly plunge his Dominions.

A little before the Death of King *William*, the Duke of *Savoy's* Minister at *London*, had Orders to solicit the Subsidies expected from his *Britannick* Majesty, but ordered him at the same time to negotiate nothing in Writing, lest the *French* Emissaries should be acquainted with it, and that Minister verbally assured the King of *England*, ' That the Duke
' his Master was resolved to be entirely directed by his Majesty, and depended wholly upon his Protection; that it was through him
' he expected to succeed in his Pretensions, which he should never directly communicate
' to the Emperor, that he was sensibly affected
' at

' at the Danger he was threatned with; but
 ' that the greater the Sacrifice was, the
 ' greater the Advantages ought to be in pro-
 ' portion. That it was from his *Britannick*
 ' Majesty's Protection, his Royal Highness
 ' expected to aggrandize his Family; that
 ' the Possession of the *Montserrat* was not ca-
 ' pable to tempt him, and that he would re-
 ' fuse it if offered by the King of *France*;
 ' that his Royal Highness had already taken
 ' a Resolution to reduce his Troops to half
 ' the Number of what he had engaged him-
 ' self to furnish to the two Crowns, till the
 ' Treaty proposed by the Emperor was con-
 ' cluded.'

' During this Negotiation, King *William*
 ' died to the great Grief of the Duke of *Sa-*
 ' *voy*, which obliged him to alter his Mea-
 ' sures; for not daring to trust a Woman
 ' with his Secrets, Queen *Anne* had at first
 ' no share in his Confidence, and the Nego-
 ' tiation began at *London*, was continued at
 ' *Vienna*.

' The Duke of *Savoy* wrote to the Empe-
 ' ror, to assure him of the hearty Acknow-
 ' ledgment of his Goodness towards him, that
 ' he had always hoped his Imperial Majesty
 ' would have the Generosity of sympathizing
 ' with him in the severe Engagement he was
 ' obliged to make for the Preservation of his
 ' Dominions; that although those very En-
 ' gagements had been serviceable to the
 ' Interest of his Imperial Majesty, he
 ' was sensibly affected in submitting to such
 ' fatal Laws; that he would never disengage
 ' himself from the Emperor's Interest, to whom
 ' he was strictly bound by Acknowledgment,
 ' and

' and whose Protection he should always think
 ' it an Honour to deserve. That his Impe-
 ' rial Majesty was not insensible he had always
 ' offered him his Service in *Italy*, since the
 ' Peace of *Ryswick*; that he had always in-
 ' sisted upon the Importance of taking neces-
 ' sary Measures for the Preservation of the
 ' Dominions belonging to the Crown of
 ' *Spain*, for the House of *Austria*; that after
 ' the Death of the Catholick King, he had
 ' represented at *Vienna* the Necessity of pre-
 ' venting the Possession of the Duchy of *Mi-*
 ' *lan*; that if his Advice had been followed,
 ' it could not have been difficult to put the
 ' Plan they had formed in execution; that
 ' he might have had the Liberty of sacrific-
 ' ing himself, according to his Desire, for
 ' the Service and Interest of the House of
 ' *Austria*, and might have avoided the vio-
 ' lent Extremities to which he was obliged
 ' to submit. That, as he always persevered
 ' in the sincere Desire of sacrificing himself
 ' to the Interest of the House of *Austria*, he
 ' hoped his Imperial Majesty would make his
 ' Justice and Generosity appear in his Favour,
 ' since his Attachment might be already ob-
 ' served from his Conduct the preceding Year,
 ' by retarding the March of his Troops,
 ' which were to enter the Field in less Num-
 ' ber than he was obliged to furnish, and by
 ' his Delay of appearing in the Army, where
 ' his Presence at least had not been useless
 ' to the Interest of his Imperial Majesty; that
 ' he would observe the same Conduct next
 ' Campaign, and would only furnish half the
 ' Troops he had engaged himself to provide,
 ' leaving the best in his own Dominions,
 ' that

that he might give stronger Marks of his Inclination to the Service of his Imperial Majesty. And flattered himself that his most submissive and sincere Sentiments would be acceptable.

As the Treaty the Duke of *Savoy* had concluded with *France* in 1696, without the participation of the Allies, notwithstanding his Promise to the contrary, was not entirely forgot at *Vienna*, they could hardly confide in his Assurances, and that Distrust increased, in proportion to the Reflexions made upon the double Alliance he had lately contracted, by the Marriage of his Daughter with *Philip V.* They could not conceive that the Duke would heartily enter into a League, whose Foundation was to dethrone his Son-in-law and Daughter, with whom he had no reason to be dissatisfied.

All these Considerations obliged the Imperial Court to take such measures of treating with the Duke of *Savoy*, as might not be suspected by the Allies. They proposed to send a Person from *Vienna* in whom they could confide, with sufficient Powers to conclude the Treaty, who being *incognito* in *Piemont*, it would be easy to conceal the Intrigue from the *French*. Mr. *Salway* was immediately employed in that Negotiation, and went often backward and forward from *Vienna* to *Turin*, till at length the Emperor, not doubting the good Intentions of the Duke of *Savoy* for the Interest of the House of *Austria*, sent Count *Aversberg* with full Power to treat and conclude an offensive and defensive Alliance with his Royal Highness. That Minister

nister arrived at *Turin* in the Month of *July* 1703, where he stayed *incognito* for some Time; but as it was to be feared that *Mr. Philippeaux*, the *French* Ambassador, had some Knowledge of that Negotiation, the Imperial Envoy left *Turin* in the Night, and resided at the Country-House of the *Marquis de Prié* Secretary of State to his Royal Highness, where that Prince and his Ministers often repaired.

The Duke of *Savoy* willingly declined the Command of the Army that Campaign, but kept his Word with the Emperor in the Reduction of his Troops to half what he had promised to furnish the two Crowns, and those Troops joined the Army at the latter End of the Campaign.

While the Duke of *Savoy* complained of the Smallness of the Subsidies paid him by *France* for the Maintenance of his Forces, he augmented them with new Levies, provided and fortified his Towns, made several Attempts in *Switzerland*, to obtain leave for raising new Regiments, privately advised the Protestants of *Orange*, who retired to *Brandenbourg* with *French* Passports, not to go far, in hopes they might be re-establish'd in their own Country in a short time.

If these Proceedings had given *France* no Suspicion of the Conduct of that Prince, it was made publick in all foreign Courts, That the Duke of *Savoy* would repair the Injury done to his Allies in the last War; that Treaty was even declared at *Lisbon* by the Ministers of
England

England and Holland, who thought they ought to make no Mystery of it to the King of *Portugal*, in order to persuade him the more easily to enter into the Alliance they proposed to him. The Imperial Ambassadors at *Rome* and in *Poland* were as indiscreet, and spoke publickly of the Treaty, relating all its Circumstances; and said among other things, That the Duke of *Savoy* was to enter into *Dauphiné* and join his Troops with the Fanatics of the *Cevennes*, to conquer *Languedoc* and *Provence*.

The most Christian King, who was silent till this time, at length communicated part of the Advice he had received to Count *Vernon*, Ambassador of *Savoy*, who disowned it, and protested his Master was incapable of being so perfidious; that he was too faithful an Ally, to act contrary to the Treaties he had signed, with his most Christian Majesty and the King of *Spain*.

Mr. *Phelippeaux* the French Ambassador at the Court of *Turin*, received Orders likewise to know the Duke of *Savoy's* final Resolution, who denied that he had made any Engagement with the Enemies of the two Crowns, who, said he, are mine also, and I am sensibly touched at such Reproaches; it is true, added he, the Situation I am in, and the Conduct I have observed since the Death of the King of *Spain*, give me room to hope for the aggrandizing my Dominions, since my Services do not a little contribute to the Safety of Those of the Spanish Monarchy, to which the *Milaneze* is of no great Use.

It was easy to comprehend, that the Duke of *Savoy* pretended to have the *Milaneze*, as an Acknowledgment for giving his Daughter to King *Philip*, and for selling some thousand Men to the *French*. The Emperor had already given him hopes, that if he became master of the *Spanish* Dominions in *Italy*, he would abandon the *Alexandrine* to him; perhaps if they had promised all the *Milaneze* he would have rejected the Emperor's Offers, unless he had considerably enlarged them.

The King of *France* believing, if he deprived the Duke of *Savoy* of the hopes of Assistance from the Emperor, he might still preserve him in the Interest of the two Crowns, that Monarch ordered the Duke of *Vandome*, who commanded the Army, to march towards *Turin* to join the Duke of *Bavaria*, and by that Diversion oblige the Emperor to withdraw his Troops from *Italy*: But this Attempt did not produce the Effects his most Christian Majesty expected, on the contrary, the Distance of the Army facilitated the Conclusion of the Treaty between the Emperor and the Duke of *Savoy*: His Royal Highness even concerted measures with General *Staremberg* to remove his Troops from the *French* Army and join the Imperialists.

This Project was not kept secret enough from the Court of *France*, who immediately dispatched Courier upon Courier to the Duke of *Vandome*, with Orders to return into *Lombardy*, to prevent the Designs of the Duke of *Savoy*.

The Duke of *Vandome*, when he came near *Saint Benedetto* encamped his Forces in such

a manner, that the Troops of *Savoy* were surrounded by those of *France*; that General ordered all the principal Officers of *Savoy* to his Tent, and represented to them the Conduct of the Duke their Master, against the Faith of Treaties and paternal Affection; and at length told them, that the King his Master commended the Bravery and Zeal of the Duke of *Savoy*, but blamed his Infidelity; that his Majesty was extremely satisfied with their good Services, and was at the same time very sensible that his Royal Highness obliged him to take measures so little conformable to his Intentions; that nevertheless, he was constrained to act in such a manner, to prevent the ill Designs of an Enemy, so much the more to be feared, as he had been hitherto concealed: At the same time he acquainted them with his Orders to disarm all the Subjects of his Royal Highness who were in the Service of the two Crowns, and make them Prisoners of War; but that his Majesty had ordered him to grant those Officers their Swords and their Liberty, who would give their Parole of Honour, not to quit those Cities of the *Milanese* without Permission, which they should choose for their Residence, and where they should be civilly treated.

It is easy to judge of the Officers Surprise, especially those who were ignorant of what passed at *Turin*; several even maintained that the Duke their Master was injured, by thinking him capable of a Conduct so unworthy a Sovereign Prince; but till they had farther light into the Affair, they submitted to the Severity of the Law imposed upon them, each protest-

protesting his particular Innocence: At the same time all the Soldiers were disarmed and made Prisoners, which happened on the 29th of September, 1703.

After this Order had been executed, the Duke of *Vandome* marched toward *Piemont* at the Head of twelve thousand Men; but before he entred the Duke's Territories, or committed any Act of Hostility, he sent an Officer with a Trumpeter to his Royal Highness with a Letter from his most Christian Majesty, the Tenor of which was as follows.

S I R,

Since neither Religion, Honour, Interest, Alliances and your own Seal make any Impression on you; I send my Cousin *Vandome* at the Head of my Army to explain my Intentions; he will allow you only twenty four Hours to come to a Resolution.

Signed, L O U I S.

The Duke of *Savoy* neither gave an Answer in Writing or sent to the Duke of *Vandome* to know what Proposals he had to offer him, but gave this verbal Answer to the Officer who delivered him the Letter; *That the late ill Treatment of his Troops, and the manner he had been used himself, had determined him to take proper Precautions; that he was not surpris'd at any Threats, and had no other Answer to make, or any Proposal to listen to.*

The King of *France* informed all the *Italian* Princes and *Swiss Cantons* of the Motives which had oblig'd him to act in this manner with the Duke of *Savoy*; and his most Christian

Christian Majesty, in a Letter to Pope *Clement XI*, on the 14th of *January* 1704, among others, uses these Expressions: 'If we had form'd a Design of invading his Dominions, as he endeavours to persuade the World, his Conduct has long since given us just Occasion to treat him as an Enemy. But far from having such a thought, we are still disposed to let *Piemont* and *Savoy* enjoy a perfect Neutrality during the whole course of the War, provided the Places are guarded by the *Swiss*, that the Passage through the Country may be open to our Troops, and that the Duke of *Savoy* disarms his own.'

They had scarce received the News at *Turin* that the Duke of *Vandome* had disarmed and arrested the Troops of his Royal Highness, which happened on the 29th of *September*, but the Duke, in bad Policy, and out of an unseasonable Bravado, suffered the Imperial Ambassadors to appear in publick. Count *Aversberg* and Mr. *Salvay* Aulick Counsellor, walked through the Streets of *Turin*, attended by their Servants in Livery on the third of *October*, and affected to pass under the Windows of the *French* Ambassador's House, to whom the Duke of *Savoy* and Mr. *St. Thomas* had protested three Days before, that all that was surmised touching his good Understanding with the Emperor, was false and groundless.

As soon as Mr. *de Phelippeaux* received Advice of what had happened by a Letter from the Duke of *Vandome*, he sent to Mr. *Pajeau*, Commissary of War, to retire immediately into his *Hôtel*, with all his Papers, being persuaded that some regard would be had to his House, as an Ambassador's.

The third of *October* 1703, about eleven of the Clock in the Morning, while the Ministers of the Emperor had Audience of the Duke of *Savoy*, Count *Tarigny* Master of the Ceremonies was sent to Mr. *de Phelippeaux* with the following Message.

'*SIR*, His Royal Highness, who always has the greatest Esteem and Friendship for your Person, is sorry that he is obliged to secure you, by reason of the Injustice and unheard of Violence lately offered his Troops, while they were in the King's Service, and his Royal Highness intirely in the Interest of his Majesty. The Marquis d'*Aix*, Captain in the Regiment of *Savoy* is at the Door with fifty Men; his Royal Highness desires, that neither you nor your Servants go out; I am sorry, Sir, to be employed upon this Occasion, which I did not expect when I had the honour of seeing you two Hours ago.'

The Ambassador answered Count *Tarigny*, That he was neither surpris'd nor affrighted at the Order, that he would observe the Arrest, and preserve the Respect due to the Rank and Person of the Duke of *Savoy*; but that with regard to the pretended Violence offered to his Troops, he was obliged to tell him, that the King his Master could not possibly act otherwise; that he ought, if it had been possible, to have secured the Cities, Dominions, and all that belonged to the Duke of *Savoy*, since notwithstanding he was bound with his Majesty in a Treaty without Clause, he had kept the Emperor's Ministers concealed in his Dominions for three Months past, with whom he had continually treated to make war against the King.'

'King.' *Tarigny* had still the Courage to deny the Fact, and to say, that all he had told him with regard to the Emperor's Ministers and their Negotiations was a Riddle to him; which obliged *Mr. de Phelippaux* to make the following Answer.

'SIR, It is no longer time to dissemble a Truth so well known; I know how often the Duke of *Savoy*, his Ministers, and yourself have visited the Imperial Ministers, at the House of the Marquis de *Prie*, and in other Places where they have concealed themselves from the Month of *July* to this time; it is hardly an Hour since they passed under my Windows in Company with your People, while you waited to introduce them to the Audience of his Royal Highness. Your own, and their Practices are well known to me. I have informed the King my Master of it, and have even sent him a number of Papers found in the Chambers of the Imperial Ministers, which have sufficiently discovered their Proceedings.'

At length he desired Count *Tarigny* to obtain Post-horses and a Passport for him as an Enemy, that he might go to *France*, and that his Servants might have leave to go and buy Provision for himself and Family, or to suffer it to be brought to his House. *Tarigny* told him, That he would mention the Horses and Passport to his Royal Highness, and that his Steward might go to provide for the Family, attended by the Soldiers of the Guard.

As soon as the Master of the Ceremonies was gone, the Marquis d'*Aix*, by Order of the

the Major of *Turin* (who was intirely ignorant of the Laws of Nations) followed by a number of Soldiers, opened and visited all the Rooms, and soon after would have excused himself to the Ambassador, by saying, that he had just received Orders to the contrary, adding, *That the Court was under such a Concern, that they sent Orders one Moment, which they revoked another.* They kept the Gates of *Turin* shut the same Day, arrested all the *French*, who were very numerous, and seized three Troops of their Cavalry, who had quartered the Night before at *Pianezze* in their way to the Army, and took two Boats laden with Bombs, and 2000 Firelocks designed for the *French* Army.

The Abbot *Sardigni*, the Pope's *Nuncio*, being upon his Departure for *Rome*, was willing to take leave of the *French* Ambassador, but the Soldiers upon Guard had no more Respect to his Person and Character than to the meanest Artificer in *Turin*, and even refused the Privilege of sending a Letter to him, although it contained only some Expressions of Consolation, and was both read and sealed in the Presence of Count *Tarigny*.

The same Day the Guard was relieved, and the like number of Soldiers of the *German* Regiment of *Schuylembourg* substituted in the room of those of the Regiment of *Savoy*; but this new Guard was commanded by the Marquis *d'Aix*, a Person of Wit and Good-breeding, and who declared he found himself as much honoured with, as concerned at the Employ he had undertaken. His obliging Behaviour engaged the Ambassador always to invite him

to Dinner, though he never failed in his Duty of informing the Duke of *Savoy* every Day of the Discourse he had with his Prisoner.

In a Conversation upon indifferent Affairs, the Marquis d' *Aix* happened to name the King of *Spain*, which gave occasion to the Ambassador to ask how he dared to call him by that Name, and whether he did not apprehend his Master's Anger. Indeed, reply'd the Marquis, *we must give him another Title, as well as the Queen, since we have acknowledged another King of Spain; but the Form is not yet come to my Knowledge.*

On Sunday the seventh of *October*, the Ambassador, with the Permission of the Marquis d' *Aix*, sent to desire a Priest of the Convent of *St. Charles* to say Mass at his House; but the Prior refused him, under pretence that he must have Leave from the Archbishop of *Turin*, of whom the Ambassador would not require it, because he had never been visited by that Prelate since his Arrival. A few days after, Leave was however granted, and a Priest from the Convent of *St. Charles* said Mass in his House on Holidays and Sundays, with this Precaution, that the Marquis d' *Aix* and the other Officers of the Guard received the Priest at his Entrance into the House, in the midst of whom he walked to the Altar, and was reconducted in the same manner to the very Street.

In ten or twelve Days the Prisons of *Turin* and other Cities were filled with the *French*, among whom were eleven Couriers, as well ordinary as extraordinary, who had been seized going to *Rome*, to other Courts of
Z 3 *Italy,*

Italy, or to the Army; the first Courier arrested at *Turin*, was a Servant of the Marquis de *Torcy*, Secretary of State, who carried Dispatches to Cardinal *Janson*, in which were others for the Pope, that met with the same Fate. As soon as the *French* Ambassador had notice of this Proceeding and that sixty *Lividores* had been taken from the Courier, he complained of it to the Marquis d' *Aix* as a manifest Robbery, committed perhaps with the Duke of *Savoy's* Knowledge; he afterwards desired the Courier might be brought to his House, where he should be as safely guarded, as one of his own Servants; this Discourse produced the restitution of the Money; but the Courier remained in Prison.

Let us leave the Ambassador Prisoner for some Time with his Guards, and observe the Duke of *Savoy's* Motions in his own Dominions and in foreign Courts.

In a short time the Duke of *Savoy* had Prisoners sufficient to exchange for his Subjects arrested by the Duke of *Vandome*, and the more because most of the *Piemontese* Officers had forfeited their Parole given to the *French* General and escaped from the Cities in *Lombardy*; they openly laughed at the Weakness of the *French* at *Turin*, who came from all Parts to fill the Prisons of the Duke of *Savoy*, and blamed the neglect of those who knew the Secrets of the Court of *France*, in not preventing several of those Imprisonments.

The Duke of *Savoy* ordered Palisades to be made at *Turin*, and some new Works to be added, which were done with so much Expedition as to be finish'd in eleven Days, lest the Duke of *Vandome*, who appeared on the other

other Side the *Po*, on the 15th of *October*, should begin the War against him by the Siege of that Capital, whose Gates were all to be walled up, except that on the Side of *Verceil*.

The Militia was raised on a sudden, as well in the Cities as in the flat Country, People of all Ages and Conditions had Orders to take Arms under pain of Death; the Workmen, Servants, and even the Officers of the Kitchen belonging to the Duke of *Savoy*, and Madam *Royal* were not excepted. They conceived great Hopes at first from these Motions, which however diminished by the Difficulties they were attended with, and those occasioned by the Arrival of the *French* Troops in *Savoy* and *Piemont*.

His Royal Highness sent Ministers to the Courts of his new Allies, with Orders to press for the Succours of Men and Money they had promised for his Support, in the Cause he had so lately embraced. Count *Targini* was sent to *Vienna*, the Marquis del *Borgos* into *England* and *Holland*, the Sieur *Mallerede* into *Switzerland*, and Count *Picon* to the Ministers and *Vauds* of the Valleys of *Lucerne*, &c.

I shall touch lightly upon the Motions of the Troops from one Place to another in *Italy*, or rather entirely omit them, since the publick Papers have given a full Account in what manner the Imperial Troops joined those of *Savoy*, and of the Opposition they met with from the *French*; I shall even pass in Silence all that does not particularly regard the Intrigues of the Duke of *Savoy*, or the Treatment of Mr. *Phelippeaux* the *French* Ambassador.

His Royal Highness wrote circular Letters to every Minister of the Valleys, to exhort them to inspire the People with Sentiments of Revenge, proportioned to the Affront his Country had received; he promised them marks of his Esteem, as an Acknowledgment of the Service they would do him, and granted them Liberty of Conscience beforehand in all his Dominions, promising Ten-pence *per Day* to each Soldier besides Bread. These Letters were accompanied with a Declaration in form of a Letter, in favour of the Inhabitants of the Valley, for which I refer the Reader to the *Memoirs of Count Bonneval*.

The Duke of Savoy wrote the 8th of *October*, to the Queen of England and the States General, to express his Sentiments, with regard to the Allies; as those two Letters are intirely the same, we shall only give you that which was sent to her *Britannick Majesty*.

Madam,

OUR inviolable Attachment to the most Serene House of Austria, and to the common Cause, having raised such Suspicions in the Court of France, as induced them to treat us in a Manner unheard of, contrary to good Faith, since they have disarmed all our Officers and Soldiers in the Service of the two Crowns, and detained them Prisoners. We communicate this to your Majesty, and assure you at the same time, that we are glad a Treatment of such a Nature affords us an Opportunity of acquainting you with the sincere Desire we always had of joining with your Majesty's powerful Allies, and to agree with them in taking the Dominions of Spain from the Hands

of

of the common Enemy of Europe, to put Charles the Third, the lawful Sovereign in Possession. We hope, Madam, from your Friendship, that your Majesty will assist us with all necessary Succours, to maintain so just a Cause for which we are ready to sacrifice all we have, and wishing you all manner of Prosperity in it, we pray you to believe, that we are most sincerely, Madam, your most affectionate Friend,

Signed,

Turin, Oct. 8th, 1703.

Victor Amadeus.

This Letter was made publick at London, but I believe not so much with a View of making the Duke of Savoy's Apology, as to give the Parliament of England a proof of the Queen's Vigilance and Capacity in separating an Ally of so great Consequence from the Interest of France, and following the Steps of her Predecessor King William; it is very certain that this Declaration of the Duke of Savoy's drew the Queen the Thanks of both Houses of Parliament, the Day after the Session was opened, which was on the 21st of November.

As the Duke of Savoy kept no Measures, either with the King of France or his Son-in-law the King of Spain, he was resolved to make him sensible (though he was innocent of disarming his Troops) *that the Sins of the Fathers are punished upon the Children, to the third and fourth Generation*, he wrote the following Letter to the new King of Spain.

SIRE,

SIRE,

THE melancholy Situation of our Affairs has hitherto prevented us from expressing our real Joy at your elevation to the Crown of Spain, but as the late Violence of France towards us, restores us the Liberty we had lost, by that fatal Alliance we had unfortunately signed, we assure your Majesty of our sincere Attachment to your Interest, which will always be more dear to us than our own, and we should soon comfort our selves at the Loss of our Dominions, which France threatens to invade, if by that Sacrifice we could procure your Majesty the peaceable possession of those devolved to you by the Death of the Catholic King Charles the 6th. This is what we desire your Majesty to be assured of, to whom we wish all Happiness and Prosperity, since we are with the utmost Sincerity, Sir,

Your most affectionate Servant,

Turin, Oct. 16, 1703.

Signed,

Victor Amadeus.

While his Royal Highness prepared himself to carry on the War with vigour in *Piedmont*, he endeavoured to preserve the Tranquillity of the Duchy of *Savoy*, which being open on all Sides, and unprovided with Places of Defence, except *Montmelian*, he had reason to apprehend that the French would soon take possession of; but as his Army was too weak to dispute the Enemy's entrance, his Council thought they had found an easy Method of keeping the War at a Distance from that Province.

This

This was by creating a Jealousy in the Swiss Cantons, Neighbours of France, in order to engage them to take Savoy under their Protection as they had done the Forest Towns on the Side of Germany; and the more easily to persuade them, the Duke told the Swiss that he consented to a perpetual Union of the Dominions of Savoy, with the worthy Helvetic Body, and would become an inseparable Member of it for the Future.

This Proposal had not the good Effect the Duke of Savoy desired; the Cantons proposed it, notwithstanding, to the King of France, and made strong Solicitations to obtain the Neutrality of all Savoy; which furnished Matter for a long Negotiation; the different Memorials of Mr. *Mülleret*, Envoy of Savoy, and those of the Marquis de *Puisieux*, Ambassador of France, have fully satisfy'd the Publick of the Reasons alledged on both Sides, and that Negotiation is too recent to require a Relation of it. I shall only observe *en passant*, that the whole Dispute terminated only in producing a Declaration from the Marquis de *Puisieux*, which he presented in a Memorial to the Diet assembled at *Baden* the 25th of July 1704, and assured the worthy Cantons, that he had Orders from the King his Master to declare, that since the Duke of Savoy had refused the general Neutrality of all his Dominions, his Majesty, in consideration only of the worthy Helvetic Body, was ready to consent to the Neutrality of *Chablais* and *Fossigny*, and to give his Royal Word, that at the Conclusion of the Peace, he would not unite the
Dutchy

Dutchy of *Savoy* with his Crown, and that this was all he had to offer on the Part of his Majesty.

The Truth of this Narration obliges me to make one Remark upon the Memorial of Mr. *Mallerede*, presented on the 23^d of *October* 1703, to the Canton of *Zurick*. That Minister, after exposing the indignity of disarming his Master's Troops, assures us that when Mr. *de Phelippeaux* was arrested at *Turin*, he said to Count *Tarigny*, who came with the Duke of *Savoy's* Order to him, *his Royal Highness has not so much Reason to secure my Person, as the King had to disarm his Troops; Ought he to doubt, as he is in the King's pay, that Monarch's Power over his Person, his Troops, and his Dominions?*

Without the least View of justifying the *French* Ambassador, this Discourse is so very flat and so unworthy the Mouth of a Minister, that the *Swiss*, as heavy as they are thought to be, did not give the least Credit to it. I have already observ'd a part of the Terms he made use of, but to prove that the fault of Count *Tarigny's* Memory (for I would not say it was the effect of his Malice, or of Mr. *Mallerede's*) did the *French* Ambassador that ill Office, I will produce the very Words used by that Minister to Count *Tarigny*.

‘ I am obliged to tell you upon your Reproach concerning the pretended Violence offered your Troops, that the King ought not only to have treated them in such a Manner, but, had it been possible to have arrested the very Cities, Dominions, and all that belonged to the Duke of *Savoy*, since
‘ while

‘ while he bound to his Majesty by a Treaty
 ‘ without Clause, which was always religiously
 ‘ observed on our Part, he keeps the Imperial
 ‘ Ministers here these three Months past, treats
 ‘ with them continually, contrary to the Faith
 ‘ given us, and was ready to make War a-
 ‘ gainst us, at the Time it was prevented.’

As we are insensibly fallen upon an Account of the *French* Ambassador, before we proceed, let us examine a little into the Reasons of his Discontent, leaving the Reader the liberty of judging whether they were well or ill founded: That Minister, having received no Answer upon the Subject of the Passport he had desired of the Duke of *Savoy* to send a Courier into *France*, spoke a second time to the Marquis d’ *Aix*, his Guardian Angel, on the 11th of *October*, adding, that the Courier should be dispatched only to procure Money for his Subsistence, or at least desired him to suffer the *Jews* of *Turin* to come into his House to buy his Furniture, in presence of the Guard.

He farther represented, that the uncommon manner of his Confinement and his long Silence to the King his Master, would make his Majesty think more than he could write; that moreover an intire violation of the Laws of Nations ought not to prevent his being treated at least like a Prisoner. That among those Nations who make War with the greatest Cruelty, the Prisoners who are suffered to live, have the liberty of sending to the Enemy’s Army by a Drum or a Trumpet, and to seek for necessary Subsistence.

The Ambassador complaining always of the violation of the Laws of Nations with regard
 to

to himself, hinted to the Marquis d'Aix, the Misfortunes the War which was kindling might draw upon the Duke of Savoy; to which that Officer reply'd with a Smile, his Royal Highness did not want Success when engaged in the former War, and will succeed better in this.

As the Court of Turin apprehended the Bribery of the German Soldiers, who were upon Guard at the House of the French Minister, it was relieved by the Regiment of Savoy, which was thought less liable to Corruption, as it consisted only of the Subjects of his Royal Highness. The next Day about Midnight the Marquis d'Aix entered the Ambassador's Room, and said to him, his Royal Highness has commanded me to deliver a Letter directed to your Excellency, which has not been unsealed. A Courier sets out for France to-morrow, and your Excellency may write by him, but upon the present juncture of Affairs, his Royal Highness prays that your Letter may be open. His Royal Highness has likewise ordered me to tell you, that the Jews shall have the Liberty of coming into your House to-morrow to buy your Furniture.

That Letter was the Triplicate of a Dispatch from the King his Master, but the Original and the Duplicate were in the Hands of the Duke of Savoy, who consequently knew the Contents: It was dated on the 9th of October, a Day they could not be acquainted at Paris with what had passed at Turin the third of the same Month. His most Christian Majesty had ordered his Minister to speak to the Duke of Savoy, and prescribed the

Terms

Terms he ought to use, viz. that without departing from his Royalty he might acquaint him with the Reasons which obliged him to arrest his Troops, and that it depended entirely upon his Royal Highness to make his People enjoy a perfect Tranquillity; that if he would break the Correspondence maintained with his Enemies, every thing should be restored to the same Condition as at the Beginning of the Campaign, that his Majesty even left him the Liberty of an entire Neutrality; and at last that he would send him his Troops provided he gave reasonable Assurances they should not join the Enemies of the two Crowns during the whole Course of the War. This Dispatch farther took notice of the Place, the Day, and the Moments the Duke held Conferences with the Emperor's Ministers, and the Substance of what was treated therein. That Prince gave his Minister Advice, that by his Orders, the Marquis de Torcy, Secretary of State, having the Management of foreign Affairs, had taken the Parole of Count Vernon Ambassador of Savoy, not to depart the Kingdom, till they had received advice of the arrival of Mr. de Phelippeaux upon the Frontiers, to be exchanged with him in case of a Rupture, and that excepting this, he had the same Liberty as before.

Mr. de Phelippeaux was not in a Condition to execute the Orders he had received, and was so much the more sensible of the ill Treatment to his Person and Character, from the difference between his Fate and that of Count Vernon's; Neither could he resolve to write a Letter to his Master unsealed, and dispatched

patched by the Couriers of the Duke of *Savoy*, while Count *Vernon* sent and received his at full Liberty, without having his Dispatches examined; and indeed the Law they endeavour'd to impose upon this Minister, was never practis'd at the Courts of Christian Princes, with respect to Persons vested with the honourable Character of Ambassadors.

The Marquis *d' Aix* asked the Ambassador next Day for his Letter, who explained to him the just Reasons he had, not to write in that Manner; that if he had done it, the King his Master would have reason to reproach him; he repeated his Desire of having a Passport, to send one of his Couriers, offering to give his most Christian Majesty notice of whatsoever the Duke of *Savoy* should think proper to acquaint him; but these new Instances produced no better Effect than the former.

Sometimes the Conversation between the Ambassador and the Marquis *d' Aix* raised the Passion of the former; the Duke of *Savoy* was pleased to give occasion to it, and the Marquis *d' Aix*, by his Master's Order, often interrogated and contradicted the Ambassador, but always with the respect due to his Character; and when the Conversation was long, the Marquis took a Memorandum of it, lest it should escape his Memory, or went to give his Royal Highness an Account of it immediately, and then returned to put something new upon the Carpet. They had positively promised to permit Mr. *Phelippeaux* to dispatch a Courier to *France* on the 20th of *October*; but if he expected it he was deceived, for he could not obtain a Passport:

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The Marquis told him, that perhaps this refusal might proceed from the Fear the Court had of his informing his Master in what manner he was treated, though he was not insensible that Mr. *de Rebenac*, whom he succeeded, had been as closely confined at the Time of the Declaration of the last War.

That's false, says the Ambassador, the Marquis *de Rebenac* was not treated as I am; and suppose, Sir, what you say to be true, the violation of the Law of Nations upon that Occasion, would not authorise the Duke your Master to commit the like a second time; perhaps you will say, that because the Duke of *Savoy* was faithless to his Allies in 1696, he has a Right to be so to the Kings of *Spain* and *France*. It would have been more worthy a Prince, if he thought proper to declare War against the King, to have allowed me the same Liberty his own Ambassador enjoys in *France*. He might have placed a Guard on the outside my House, without wounding the Respect due to my Character, he might have prevented his Subjects Correspondence with me, have allowed me to dispatch a Courier to agree upon my Exchange, and then have ordered me to be conducted to the Frontiers, till the Arrival of his Ambassador. Is it not expected at *Turin*, that the Count *de Vernon* will escape from *France*, notwithstanding his Parole, as did the Marquis *de Salces* during the last War? In *France*, and all other Nations, a Default upon Parole of Honour, is looked upon differently from what it is in *Piemont*.

The Marquis made no Objection to these Truths, but said, he did not believe that

Count *Vernon* could escape if he was willing, since he was to travel six and twenty Leagues through the Territories of *France*; neither did he believe that the exchange of the two Ambassadors would be soon made, because Mr. *de Phelippeaux*, besides his other Character, was vested with the quality of Lieutenant-General: Such Sentiments are pardonable in a Gentleman of his Age, who was not much acquainted with Affairs of State, or the Laws of War: He was ignorant that the Character of Ambassador had no relation to any other Employ, which it far excels, being always inviolable, and most honourable; That on the other hand, the Ambassadors of two Sovereigns, let the Power of their Masters be ever so disproportionate, enjoy the same Privileges, and no distinction is made in their Employments or Persons upon an Exchange in case of War.

Toward the latter end of *October* the Duke of *Savoy* took the Field with sixteen Battalions and fourteen Squadrons, which were all his Regular Forces, and committed the Defence of *Turin* to the Militia; so that the *French* Ambassador's Guard consisting only of Peasants at that time, they committed several Insolencies, threatening even to kill him, because they looked upon him as the Author of a War, from which they apprehended the Ruin of their Country; as soon as the Marquis d' *Aix* was apprized of it, he moderated their Insolence and Brutality.

Count *Jesqueri*, Major of *Turin*, proclaimed at the Head of the Guards on the 28th of *October*, that leave was given to kill all the *French* who were in the Country, and
promised

promised a *Louisdore* for each Head they shou'd bring. But the Duke of *Vandome* who had Advice of it, soon put a stop to the Execution of that Order, by giving notice to the Duke of *Savoy* by a Trumpet, that for one *Frenchman* his Subjects should kill contrary to the Laws of War, he would cause twelve *Piemontese* to die by the Hands of the Hangman.

As the Marquis *d' Aix* and other *Savoyards* and *Piemontese*, believed that the Treaty signed between the two Crowns and the Duke of *Savoy*, was only for three Years, and as it was upon the point of expiring, his most Christian Majesty had no right to arrest his Troops (which he called Auxiliaries) and that it was unjust to prevent a Sovereign from having Persons privately in his Dominions to treat in his Interest, since by the Expiration of the Treaty, he would be free from all Engagements. The Ambassador thought proper to undeceive the Marquis, by unvailing the Truth to him, which the Court of *Turin* was glad to conceal.

' You are mistaken, Sir, said he, the Treaty signed between his Majesty and the Duke of *Savoy* is unlimited, without Clause, and without End; I agree that, was it as you say, the King my Master would have committed an Act, for which he ought to make large Reparations to his Royal Highness; but if it be true that he has broken his Engagements by treating with the Emperor and others of our Enemies, you ought to agree that the Method taken by his Majesty ought to be regarded only as a slight Punishment, and the Beginning of what his Infidelity to his Allies
A 2 2 ' deserves:

' deserves: With respect to what you call auxi-
 ' liary Troops, it appears to me, that either
 ' you cannot make the Distinction, or that you
 ' are ignorant upon what footing those of *Sa-*
 ' *voy* joined the Army of the two Crowns.
 ' Auxiliary Troops are such as one Prince sends
 ' *gratis* to another who maintains them at his
 ' own Expence; for example, the 7000 Men
 ' his Majesty sent into *Hungary* in 1664, who
 ' won the Battle of *St. Godard*, and secured
 ' *Germany*; such as his Majesty soon after sent
 ' into *Holland* against the Bishop of *Munster*;
 ' and in short such as the King of *England* al-
 ' lowed to *France* in 1673; but, added he,
 ' these differed vastly from those we are speak-
 ' ing of, since not only the Troops of *Savoy*, but
 ' even the Person of his Royal Highness was
 ' in the Pay of the King my Master; for, Sir,
 ' if you had been rightly informed, in what
 ' manner your Master had treated with us, you
 ' would be not only sensible, as I have already
 ' observed, that the Treaty is unlimited and
 ' without end; but also that his Royal High-
 ' ness has demanded 15000 Crowns per Month
 ' for himself, and 35000 Crowns per Month
 ' likewise for the Troops he has furnished;
 ' that it was upon this footing the Treaty was
 ' signed, and inviolably observed on our part.
 At that time the Affairs of *Savoy* were in
 so melancholy a Situation, that the Marquis
d' Aix could not forbear expressing his Con-
 cern for it to the Ambassador: he told him
 that his Master had certainly taken wrong
 Measures, since the Succours he expected
 were not arrived, from *Switzerland*, or
 the Fleet which still remained at *Leghorn*;
 that Count *Visconti*, who was marching to
 his

his Assistance with 3000 Horse from the Imperial Army; had been defeated, which extremely discomposed his Royal Highness; that he apprehended the Siege of *Turin*, and that part of his Subjects would abandon him; that he was unwilling to humble himself notwithstanding, choosing rather to lose all, than to quit the Interest of the Emperor, whom he had abandoned with Regret; that however if he could stand upon the defensive during the Winter, he hoped for powerful Succours in the Spring, which would not only put his Royal Highness in a Condition to take the Field with Advantage, but also to make a Progress in *Dauphiné* and *Provence*. That, moreover, he was very sorry there was no Appearance of an Exchange of Ambassadors, it being not so much as once mentioned at Court.

Mr. de *Phelippeaux* answered, that the want of being exchanged did not disquiet him, that he was born to die in the Service of his Master, who knew in what manner to demand his Ambassador of the Duke of *Savoy*, who was pleased to draw all those Evils upon himself with which he was threatned; since without weighing his true Interest, he had listened too much to bad Counsel and unfaithful Ministers, who, out of a blind Zeal for the House of *Austria*, would occasion the Ruin of his Dominions; that it was to be feared the Duke of *Savoy* would one Day be obliged to go and ask Subsistence at *Vienna*, where the Imperial Ministers would not fail to remind him of his former Crimes, calling to memory his Action in the Year 1696; That if he shut himself up in one of his own Towns he might undergo the Fate of *Ludovic Sforce*

Duke of *Milan*, or at least that of the Doge of *Genoa*, or such as *Philip* the III^d made his Nephews, Sons of *Charles Emanuel*, undergo; and lastly, that it was advantageous to *France* for the Duke of *Savoy* not to repent, since that Repentance might restore him to his Master's Favour, to the prejudice of the Advantage his Majesty might reap by the Conquest of *Piemont*, who would for ever banish so perfidious a Prince.'

That Minister frequently entertained the Marquis with Discourse to the same effect, being persuaded that his Youth and little Experience in Affairs made him incapable of conversing upon that head; and besides he knew their whole Conversation was faithfully reported to the Duke of *Savoy*.

A few Days after, the Ambassador asked the Marquis by way of Interrogatory, *Pray, Sir, do you know what Place of Security the Duke of Savoy gives the Emperor, who without doubt is too well experienced, to expose himself to the same that happened in the Year 1696.* The Marquis blushing, answer'd, That his Master would sooner perish, than give Places of Security to any Body.

From the first of *November*, Count *d' Aversberg*, by the Emperor's Order, solicited the Duke of *Savoy* to send the Ambassador back to *France*, because his Stay at *Turin*, and the Inconstancy of that Prince, made him always apprehend a Change like that in the Year 1696. Nevertheless that Minister's Liberty was not granted upon the strongest Instances of his Imperial Majesty, till he had been seven Months and a half in Prison. Upon the first Proposal the Imperial Minister made the Duke

Duke in presence of the Marquis de *St. Thomas*, and the Marquis de *Prie* Ministers and Secretaries of State. 'His Royal Highness answered in the following Terms, I am resolv'd to confine him, he is the Cause of all that has lately happened, and he will do me too much Injury in the end. I know what he is capable of doing, I have seen him at Work, he is acquainted with my Troops and Country, *Vernon* is useless to me, and if *St. Thomas*, who is present, was in *France*, I would sooner suffer him to perish, than send back the Ambassador.'

The Marquis de *Prie*, who was susceptible of Love, and had several Mistresses, had the Weakness to disclose to them the most important Secrets that were negotiated at *Turin*. Two of these *Dalilabs* never failed, as often as they found an Opportunity, to inform the Ambassador of *France* of all they knew, who perhaps paid largely for their Advice. I have had faithful Copies at much less Expence, which gave rise to my Design of composing this Work for the Entertainment of the Publick.

At the beginning of *December*, the Ambassador renewed his Instances to the Marquis de *Aix* for Liberty to sell his Goods and Plate, or to transact with the Countess of *Vernon*, touching what she designed to remit to her Husband, if the Duke of *Savoy* persisted in keeping him Prisoner; but he obtained no farther Satisfaction than he had done before; the Marquis only told him, that he ought to be afraid of appearing before the King, since his false Advices and unsuccessful Negotiations had involved his Majesty in a difficult War.

‘ The Ambassador answered, that he had always done his Duty like a faithful Subject; that if the Duke of Savoy believed he had given wrong Advice, either through Ignorance or Malice, he might send him to his Majesty, *who knew as well how to punish him, as to chastise the perfidious.*

Beside the ordinary Guard of Citizens and Peasants, four particular Persons were posted in the Ambassador’s Hotel, two of whom attended the Servants who brought Provisions, and were so very exact as to examine all they brought, even cut the Bread to pieces, and untied the Fagots of Wood, to seek for Advice they thought might be conceal’d; and sometimes they cried aloud in the Courtyard of the Hotel, that the Author of the War should be torn to pieces.

One Hardship used with respect to the Ambassador, and which sensibly touched him, was upon account of twelve Orange-Trees he had in his Garden; as he had no Green-house, he had ordered one to be made about two Years before at the *Carmes*, which was not far from his Hotel; in the time of a hard Frost, he prayed the Marquis *d’Aux* to order the Soldiers to remove his Orange-Trees, and he would pay them for their Trouble, or to permit his Servants to do it; the Marquis asked leave five or six different times without obtaining it, so that the Orange-Trees died by the Coldness of the Weather. The Ambassador ordered them to be cut down, and burnt them in the presence of the Marquis, who could not forbear taking notice of it. Till this time, they had always been between Hope and Fear of a Re-union with

with the Duke of *Savoy*, the Pope and other *Italian* Princes judging that this new Quarrel would continue the War in *Lombardy*, employed their good Offices to procure an Accommodation; they had even already obtained the most Christian King's Word, that his Royal Highness should enjoy an entire Neutrality. The Troops under the Command of the Duke of *Vandome* had yet undertaken nothing extraordinary, they were contented to take Winter Quarters in some open Places of *Piemont*, and to secure those Ports, by which the *Germans* might enter to the Assistance of the Duke of *Savoy*; but all Attempts to this purpose being fruitless, by his Royal Highness's refusing to listen to his Neighbour's Propositions, they made Dispositions on all sides for a War.

An Order of his most Christian Majesty's was published in *France*, and upon the Frontiers, on the 4th of *December* 1703, with a Declaration of War against the Duke of *Savoy*: Though that Piece is not new to the Publick, I thought proper to insert it in this Place, both because it confirms several Facts which I have advanced, and contains some Particulars which I should have been obliged to mention hereafter, if they had not been sufficiently explained by this Declaration.

By the King.

‘ THE Manifesto's published by the Duke
 ‘ of *Savoy* in his own Dominions to en-
 ‘ gage his Subjects to arm themselves for their
 ‘ Preservation, the Odium he endeavoured to
 ‘ fix at all the Courts of *Europe* upon the
 ‘ Violence

' Violence offered his Troops on the 20th
 ' of *September*, when they were arrested and
 ' disarmed by the Duke *de Vandome*, pursuant
 ' to an Order from his Majesty, might have
 ' produced some bad Effect, if the notorious
 ' Infidelity of that Prince, had not compelled
 ' his Majesty to take such a Resolution, so
 ' different from his former Conduct, at a time
 ' when the Success of his Arms and the vast
 ' Advantages obtained over the Princes in Al-
 ' liance against him, had placed it in his Power
 ' to make Peace upon his own Conditions.
 ' The Treaty concluded in 1696, between
 ' his Majesty and the Duke of *Savoy*, cemen-
 ' ted by the Marriage of the Duke of *Bur-*
 ' *gundy* with the eldest Daughter of that
 ' Prince, furnished an authentick Example of
 ' his Esteem, by affording him such Advantages,
 ' as were not to be met with in his Alliance
 ' with the Emperor, *England*, and *Holland*.
 ' King *Charles* the Second dying in the
 ' Year 1700, the Succession to that Monar-
 ' chy devolved to *Philip* the Vth by right of
 ' Blood, by the Constitution of the Laws of
 ' all the States of that Monarchy, by the
 ' Will of the late King, and by the Desire
 ' of the People. That Disposition having
 ' raised the Jealousy of those, who were En-
 ' mies to the Grandeur of *France*, his Ma-
 ' jesty, to preserve that Monarchy entire,
 ' was obliged to send Forces into *Italy*, which
 ' was to be first attacked, proposing a new
 ' Treaty to the Duke of *Savoy* at the same
 ' time, by which he engaged himself, to fur-
 ' nish ten thousand Men during the War
 ' besides the Subsidies agreed upon.'

By

By this Treaty his Royal Highness was to
 command the Army of the two Kings in *Italy*,
 and his Majesty consented to the Marriage of
 the King of *Spain*, with the second Daughter
 of the Duke, that he might strengthen a
 perpetual Union between himself, the King
 of *Spain*, and the Duke of *Savoy*, by such
 an Alliance, and Marks of a thorough
 Confidence, and engage him to contribute
 to their Advantage with the utmost of his
 Power, which Treaty has been faithfully
 observed by the two Crowns. Although
 the first Year's Event has been unsuccessful,
 and that the Imperial Army has penetrated
 far into *Italy*, notwithstanding the Duke
 of *Savoy* had withdrawn his Troops
 at a time they were most necessary to the
 Emperor, it cannot be said that he has
 strictly observed the Conditions of the
 Treaty on his part.

That Campaign was hardly finished, but
 his Majesty perceiving the Progress of the
 Enemies Troops, was determined to augment
 his Army with thirty Battalions and
 as many Squadrons, to establish the Tran-
 quillity of *Italy*, and deprive the Emperor
 of the hopes of conquering it. It was at this
 time his Majesty received advice from all
 parts, of the Duke of *Savoy's* League with
 the Emperor and *England*, and that he pro-
 posed an Augmentation of his Subsidies by
 his Ambassador, and having caused his Fi-
 delity to his Majesty to be suspected, con-
 sented to send only a Moiety of the Troops
 he was engaged to furnish, and that the
 King of *Spain* took the Command of the
 Armies upon himself.

These

These Suspicions, too well sounded before, were increased upon certain Advice that he was negotiating a Treaty with the Emperor, but all the Duke's Care to keep it secret, did not prevent his Majesty's receiving certain Information of the Arrival of Count *Aversperg*, the Imperial Minister at *Turin*, on the 15th of *July* last with full Power to conclude it.

A Negotiation so shameful, could not be made publick, without drawing his Majesty's just Indignation against it; and this Treaty was moreover concluded in the Night, at the House of the Marquis *de Prie*, where the Imperial Minister had been long concealed, and where the Duke of *Savoy* and the Count *de la Tour* held frequent Conferences together.

The Rumour of Count *Aversperg*'s Residence at *Turin*, being too publicly reported, he retired from thence to Count *de Tarigny*'s Country House, where he was often visited by the Duke of *Savoy* and the Marquis *de St. Thomas*. His Majesty well informed of these Proceedings, which were farther confirmed by the Interception of a Letter from Count *d'Aversperg* to Count *Zinzendorf*, dated from *Turin* on the 13th of *August*, order'd his Ambassador to mention it to the Duke of *Savoy*, who gave orders to Count *de Vernon* to renew his Protestations of Fidelity to his Majesty, in all his Engagements, assuring him that the Emperor had no Minister at *Turin*, and that he would not listen to any Proposals he should make: The same Orders were given to his Ambassador at *Madrid*, for the King of *Spain*.

That

' That Prince's Infidelity to his Majesty
 ' being confirmed by this Conduct, as a just
 ' and necessary Precaution, he ordered the
 ' Duke *de Vandome* to disarm the Troops of
 ' *Savoy*, which were in the Armies of their
 ' most Christian and Catholick Majesties, and
 ' to advance toward his Dominions; but be-
 ' fore he entred them to commit any Act of
 ' Hostility, his Majesty proposed, that the
 ' Duke should grant him Places of Security,
 ' and reduce his Troops upon the Footing of
 ' the Treaty in 1696, that he might secure
 ' the Communication of his Dominions with
 ' those of the King his Grandson, and ward
 ' against the Ill-will of the Duke of *Savoy* for
 ' the future.

' These Propositions, so agreeable to the
 ' Interest of the Duke of *Savoy* and to the
 ' Tranquillity of his Dominions, were re-
 ' jected, and the Ambassadors of the two
 ' Crowns were put under Arrest at *Turin*, with-
 ' out the Liberty of corresponding together,
 ' or of writing, while the Count *de Vernon* his
 ' Royal Highness's Ambassador at *Paris* was at
 ' Liberty upon his Parole. He even arrested
 ' all the *French*, and the very Officers and
 ' Soldiers of his Majesty, who were passing
 ' through his Territories, and seized their Ef-
 ' fects: and depending upon the Succours he
 ' expected from his new Allies, pursuant to the
 ' Treaty concluded between them, he order'd
 ' his Troops to meet General *Visconti*, who was
 ' marching to his Assistance with two thousand
 ' Horse, which were intirely defeated by the
 ' Duke *de Vandome*, bfore he could join them.
 ' He ordered all his Subjects to take arms,

made

made new Levies, and omitted nothing to convince the World that he had no regard to the Violation of Treaties. His Majesty being convinced of his Intentions by these Proceedings, resolved to prevent the Consequences by declaring War against him both by Sea and Land.

While the *French* were making Preparations against *Savoy*, the Duke used his utmost Endeavour at the Courts of his new Allies, to obtain the Succours he absolutely wanted. The *Dutch*, who most countenanced his Royal Highness, amused the Marquis *del Borgos* his Envoy notwithstanding, till they had penetrated into his real Sentiments: But after that Minister had resided two Months *incognito* at the *Hague*, he made his publick Entry on the 23d of *January* 1704, and in his Speech to the States-General, represented 'The generous Resolution of his Royal Highness in favour of the common Cause, and the good Opinion his Master had of that Republick; that the Remembrance of a Friendship which had been always dear to him, made him hope for their powerful Alliance; that the Opportunity, which gave his Master the liberty of declaring his Sentiments, had renewed his Joy; that he had a Royal Acknowledgment of the Kindnesses their High Mightinesses had testified upon this melancholy Occasion; that his Royal Highness's Desire of an Alliance with them, was not the Consequence of any Animosity inspired by the late Event, but rather the Effect of his sincere Attachment to the Interest of the common Cause, for which he was ready to expose his Domi-

nions,

nions, to drain his Finances, and to spill the Blood of his Subjects, that all the World might know with what Zeal he espoused the Cause of the Liberty of *Europe*; he assured them at length, that his Royal Highness would never conclude a separate Treaty with the common Enemy, and that he would not lay down his Arms, till he saw the lawful Heir to the Crown of *Spain* seated upon the Throne.' The Baron *de Lintelo* answered the Duke's Envoy in the Name of the States-General, and said among other things, 'That their High Mightinesses had never doubted, but the Day would come when the Duke of *Savoy* would be in Alliance with them, notwithstanding his Engagements with *France*, and would assist them in supporting the Rights of the august House of *Austria*; that for their part his Royal Highness might depend upon their Assistance, as long as he remained a firm and faithful Ally.'

Count *d'Aversperg* could not prevail upon the Duke of *Savoy* to send Mr. *de Phelippeaux* into *France*, but insisted upon his Departure from *Turin*, where his Residence was suspected by him; to which Request he at length consented; and it was signified to the Ambassador, that his Royal Highness thought proper to have him conducted to *Comi*. But before he departed, he declared upon his Word of Honour, 'That he would not go out of the City, nor suffer any of his Domesticks to escape, to attempt nothing, either of himself or by means of his Servants, against the Interest of his Royal Highness, or give any Intelligence. That he would walk about
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‘ the City attended by an Officer appointed
 ‘ for him, and not suffer above five of his
 ‘ Servants to go out of his House at a time,
 ‘ who should be accompanied by Persons ap-
 ‘ pointed for them; that this should not only
 ‘ be during his Stay at *Coni*, but as long as
 ‘ he remained within the Dominions of his
 ‘ Royal Highness, in his March, or other-
 ‘ wise, till the time of his Exchange.’

Signed, *Phelippeaux*.

The Day this Declaration was signed, was fixed upon for the Prisoner's Departure : But let us make a few Observations upon the Preparations for his Journey. The Ambassador had desired one thing which was promised him, but afterward refused; it was, that the Duke of *Savoy* should order Passports to be delivered to the Officer, who had the Charge of his Person, to be distributed among his Domesticks at *Coni*, that he might send what part of his Servants and Baggage he should think proper into *France*, and when he pleased, according as he found the Conveniency or the Inconveniency of his Lodgings in that City. The Day fixed for his Departure on the 20th of *December* was deferred to the next day, lest the Duke of *Vandome* should have received advice of it. The same Day at ten o'clock in the Morning, the Marquis *d'Aix* delivered Mr. *de Phelippeaux* to three Officers, who were nominated to conduct him with an Escort of forty Horse and sixty Dragoons. The Officers were the Sieurs *Saraval*, formerly Governor of *Ast*, and the two *Asinari's*.

The

The Ambassador set out from *Turin* on Horseback preceded by his Servants, and half the Escort, being followed by the rest. They lay at *Carignan* that Night, where the House provided for the Prisoner had Iron Bars to the Windows, was guarded by Peasants even at the very Chamber-doors, and the three Officers supped with the Ambassador.

The next Day they lay at *Ville Franche* upon the *Po*, though the Rout was ordered to *Savillan*, which they thought proper to change by reason of the Proximity of *Ast*, which was in possession of the *French*. Upon their Arrival at *Carignan*, a Dragoon told the Ambassador's under Secretary, that they had changed their Rout for fear of the *French*, but had orders to kill the Ambassador if they attempted to release him. I know not whether any Credit ought to be given to the Dragoon's Discourse, but it is very true, that Mr. *Saraval* made no Answer when he was reproached with it by the Ambassador.

On Sunday the 23d, they lay at *Verolles*, and the next day being *Christmas* Eve, arrived at *Coni*; the House provided for the Ambassador very much resembled a Prison, having not only Iron Bars to the Windows, but they had taken care to wall up a Door of 20 Foot square next a little Garden. A large Guard was placed round the House, the Centinels being within ten Paces of each other, and even at the very Doors of his Apartment. All the Chimneys were stopt up, except those belonging to the Ambassador's Chamber and the Kitchen, so that no Fires could be made, tho' the Season was ever so severe. Several Doors and cross-barred Grates were against Mr. *de Phelippeaux's* Room, which having

only wooden Shutters, he must either be without Light, or exposed to the Injuries of the Air; and though that Minister was extremely ill, Mr. *Saraval* would not suffer them to be glazed.

The Marquis *de St. Thomas* having assured the Ambassador that he would be soon exchanged, his Excellency had only carried a Field-bed, without any Furniture for his Servants, who were provided by the Governor of *Coni* with nineteen Soldiers Beds, with which fifty People were obliged to be satisfied, without distinction of Gentlemen, Secretaries, &c. Neither would they suffer an Upholster to enter his House to make Beds for their Conveniency. This Hardship deprived *Saraval* and *Asinari* of the Ambassador's table, and he only allowed them that Honour at Breakfast, which soon drew upon him their Resentment.

They published an Order at *Coni* by sound of Trumpet, which appeared, and will appear inhumane to every disinterested Person, to prohibit any Credit being given to the Ambassador's People upon pain of Death, or to buy his Plate, Clothes, Furniture, or any thing belonging to him or his Servants; which was strictly observed, and put the Ambassador under the greatest Difficulties.

Mr. *de Phelippeaux* being extremely ill at *Coni*, insomuch that his Life was in danger, begged of Mr. *Saraval*, in terms that would soften the most obdurate Heart, to obtain Leave from the Duke to send for a Physician upon the Frontiers of *France*, by a Trumpet of his Royal Highness's, adding, that such a Favour could not be denied by a Prince, who had, or might have Subjects of Distinction in

France

France that would be glad of the same Liberty, but all his Solicitations ended in a Refusal.

Notwithstanding the Severity and Vigilance of Mr. *Saraval*, it was impossible to prevent the Communication of the Soldiers with his Domesticks, who gave them Provisions every Day, and sometimes Money, which obliged some to desert, and carry verbal News to the Duke *de Vandome* concerning that Minister. A *French* Deserter from the Regiment of *Montferrat*, proposed several times to the Ambassador's Servants, that if their Master would write to the Duke *de Vandome*, he would promise him an Answer in six Days. That Minister accepting of the Soldiers Goodwill, delivered him a Letter which he did not carry far; for being drunk, he discovered his Design, and the Letter was taken from him. The Soldier suffered the Question, and would have been hanged before the Ambassador's House, if he had not threatned to fire upon the Executioners, who chose another Place to perform their Office.

Saraval went to inform the Ambassador, that the Duke of *Savoy* had intercepted a Letter he had wrote to the Duke *de Vandome*, notwithstanding his Parole given to undertake nothing contrary to his Interest, and that if he continued to act in such a manner, he should be obliged to take other Measures against him; but that you may judge whether the Duke of *Savoy's* Complaints were justly founded, here is a true Copy of the Letter.

My Lord,

THIS is the first Opportunity I have had of writing, and am ignorant whether it will succeed; I have been near six Months under se-

were Confinement, and treated not only contrary to the Law of Nations, but the Law of Humanity; the Description would be as long and tedious as it is incredible; as to the Hardships I endure and to the Consequences, I have no reason to fear them for my own part; I have done my Duty in all things, and that is sufficient; but the King, and the whole Kingdom of France are concerned in the Treatment used to his Majesty's Ambassador. Count Vernon, for whom the Duke of Savoy has little Esteem, is not an equivalent for me, and I verily believe, that Prince would shew his Hatred and Resentment against me, at the Expence of some more considerable Subjects. I desire your Lordship either to inform his Majesty of what I write, or to send him the Letter when you have decyphered it. The Bearer of this has promised to bring me an Answer, &c.

Mr. de Phelippeaux continually complaining of the Duke of Savoy's Severity, and in Terms disagreeable to Mr. Saraval, he told him, that he would inform his Royal Highness of it, who would acquaint the most Christian King of it in such a manner, that his Majesty would undoubtedly chastise him. To which that Minister replied, That all his Complaints were founded upon the Laws of Nations, so cruelly violated with regard to himself; That he did not interfere in his Master's Affairs, being under no Concern whether he govern'd his Dominions well or not, or whether he observed or broke the Treaties he had signed; but would once more repeat, that he was the most unjust and dishonourable of Men with respect to him, and that he feared not his Threats. For your part, added he, you acquit your self, in the base Employ your Master has given you, too well, by not informing him of all

I say: To which *Saraval* answered, That he knew no reason he had to complain so much of him, after the Civilities he had shewn his Excellency. *Civility*, replied the Ambassador, *Sir, I would have you know, that there is no body in your Master's Dominions, not even the Princes of his Blood, who do not owe me Respect, and have always shewn it, even himself has had a regard to my Character, though for six Months past he has intirely neglected it. Know therefore, Sir, that if you or any other who is charged with the Care of my Person, should fail in that respect, I will make you so sensible of it, that you will never forget it.*

Saraval was in Confusion, and informed the Duke of Savoy of all that passed at this time, and before, from whom perhaps he received Instructions to act according to his Duty; for he never mentioned the Term *Civility* any more, but that of *humble Respects* was often used in his Discourse. He prayed the Ambassador, not to attribute the Severity he had received to his Conduct, assuring him at the same time, that he had often wrote to Court to have the Garden-Door unwall'd, and for other Necessaries he had required, without receiving any Answer upon these Heads: That, for his own part, he had only acted according to his Orders, which he was obliged to obey. *Sir*, replied the Ambassador, *I am sorry you force me to tell you, that your Conduct resembles that of a Hangman who embraces and asks pardon of the Person he is going to execute, alledging the same Reason as you have done: If you act of your own accord, you are the most cruel of Mankind, and if you act by Order, I will do you the Justice to say, there is one more cruel than your self.*

The

The Ambassador never went out of his Room for above seven Months, though he had the Privilege of walking about the City of *Coni*: He had two Reasons for it, first, that he would not expose himself to the Insults of the Populace, and secondly, that he would always be near his Papers, which he could not resolve to destroy, having preserved several Originals of the secret Negotiations of the Duke of *Savoy* with the Enemies of the two Crowns, to justify the Advice he had given of them to his own Court. Those Papers which were most useful he always kept at the Head of his Bed, and all the Arms belonging to the Family in his own Chamber, that they might be ready upon Occasion, should they offer to take his Papers away.

I shall expatiate no longer upon the Cruelty of Mr. *Saraval* to the Ambassador, though it might furnish matter to swell this to a considerable Volume: He was recalled to take possession of the Government of *Montdoux*, which the Duke of *Savoy* had given him as a Reward for his extraordinary Services.

Saraval was succeeded by the Count de *Montroux*, who though he continued every thing upon the same footing as he found it, behaved himself in a different manner from his Predecessor, and would not have accepted of the Employ upon the same Conditions. Mr. de *Montroux* is a Person of Distinction, very polite and agreeable in his Conversation; he expressed his Sorrow at the ill Treatment of the Ambassador, and endeavoured to persuade him, that the Court had no Share in the Cruelty practised against him. But his Excellency satisfied him, that his Goaler's Conduct (for he called *Saraval* by no other Name) was very well known to his Master.

On

On the first of *May* Count *Montroux* acquainted his Prisoner that the Count *de Vernon* was arrived at *Antibes*, where the Ambassadors were to be exchanged, that he should have the pleasure of accompanying him to that Place, and that it might be performed with the more Honour, he expected eight of the Life-guard commanded by a Brigadier, who would arrive on the 7th of that Month, and desired his Excellency to prepare for his Departure.

The happy Day being at length come, 60 Horses or Mules were provided to carry the Ambassador's Equipage and part of his Servants. They went from *Goni* to *Limon*, on the 9th of *May* 1704: The March began with four of the Duke of *Savoy's* Life-guard, followed by the Ambassador's Baggage and the Servants, then came the Ambassador, himself on Horseback, having the Count *de Montroux* on his Left, and the other four Life-guards on his Right with the Brigadier, closed the March. The Garrison of *Goni* was under Arms, but they neither beat a Drum nor fired a Cannon. Mr. *de Montroux* made an Excuse to the Ambassador, that he had not been offered the Presents of the City according to Custom, by saying it had not been practised in *France* with regard to Count *Vernon*. To which Mr. *Phelippeaux* replied, Sir, They might have saved you the trouble of making me this Compliment; it would have been useless, and a Mortification to the Duke of *Savoy* to offer a Present, which I should have refused. As to his Cannon, I hope he will soon fire against me, and I am very indifferent whether he fires for me at present. Your Master has done very well to restrain himself in those two points, and to regulate his Conduct by what has been practised in *France*; but if he would follow the Example of
the

the King my Master, he ought to imitate his Majesty intirely with respect to the Law of Nations.

When the *French* Ambassador arrived upon the Borders of the *Var*, Count *Vernon* was on the other side with Mr. *Libois* Gentleman of the Bedchamber to the King, and the Musketeers who escorted him. The two Ministers were about 200 Paces from each other, when they proceeded to exchange them in the following manner.

The Equipages marched first cross the River, followed by the Servants, and then the Ambassadors, Mr. *Phelippeaux* in the midst of the Duke of *Savoy's* Guard, and Count *Vernon* in the midst of the Musketeers. *Messieurs de Libois* and *de Montroux* waiting to receive them on the Border of the River. The Musketeers saluted Count *Vernon* with their Swords when he parted from them, but the Duke of *Savoy's* Guard forgot to pay the same Civility to Mr. *de Phelippeaux*. The Musketeers and the Guard repassed the River at the same time, and in the same Order, concluding with reciprocal Complaisance to each other.

Mr. *Huillier* Governour of *Antibes* came to meet the *French* Ambassador upon the Border of the *Var*, and received him with all the Marks of Honour due to his Character, as an Ambassador, and a Lieutenant-General. He made his Entry into *Antibes* under a Discharge of the Cannon, with the Garrison under Arms, and the Drums beating; and the Marquis *de Royè* and *de Tourville*, who were at this time at *Antibes*, with ten *French* Gallies, endeavoured to the utmost of their Power to make Mr. *de Phelippeaux* forget the Hardships and Severity of his Confinement.



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